

PEACE NEWS

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BETRAYAL OF PEACE

A Scheme That Means National Servitude

OPPOSE THREAT TO FREEDOM

GREATER REARMAMENT COUPLED WITH SOME FORM OF CONSCRIPTION is the price we are being asked to pay for the respite from war gained by the Munich Agreement. To pay it would mean the betrayal of a supreme opportunity for banishing permanently the shadow of war, as well as the surrender of Britain's heritage of democracy (imperfect though that may still be).

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NOT IN VAIN?

Beside the more spectacular expressions of the German people's desire for peace, this inscription on a wreath at the foot of the Cenotaph in the heart of Berlin is the more impressive for the quietness of its witness:

To the courageous dead of the War, who, having arisen in this hour, and by their warning to the world, have saved it from fresh horrors—on September 30, 1938.

Public Affairs COMMENTARY

"NATIONAL SERVICE" MENACE

THERE can be no exaggeration of the dangers inherent in the present drive for "national service." Let there be no doubt whatever that "national service" is but another way of saying "conscription" and everything that conscription stands for.

"We are a curious people," writes Lord Castlerosse in the *Daily Express*. "We shy at a name and are attracted by a label, though the label be false. Some people tell me that whereas they would be prepared to support a policy of national service, they would be against conscription. As I have too few hairs to start splitting them, we will leave it at that."

Mr. Winston Churchill, in his broadcast to America, said: "Britain casting away the habits of centuries, will decree national service upon her citizens."

We are told that it is to be a "voluntary national service." The word "voluntary" is merely bait to hide the barb.

The Political Correspondent of the *Daily Express* has made it clear what the word "voluntary" really means: "By this term is meant a system under which citizens would have the right to say what form their national service should take—so long as they agreed to some form."

National service is conscription adapted to the conditions of modern warfare. Its purpose is to put the individual under the complete control of the State for whatever purpose the State desires.

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

WHO is going to oppose such an abrogation, if not complete destruction, of our democratic rights and privileges?

The Labour Party recognizes the danger. The *Daily Herald* in a leading article, has pointed out that

clearly the various defence schemes, particularly those for civilian service which the

(Continued on back page.)

In his work which ended with the Munich Agreement, the overwhelming peace sentiment of the country and the world was with the Prime Minister. Detestable as the methods were, hard and bitter as the suffering is now, the Munich Agreement met the test of history and put right a wrong done twenty years ago. A wave of thankfulness greeted the Prime Minister that this chronic threat to world peace had been removed.

Betrayed

With his agreement with Hitler it seemed that Chamberlain would lead the country out of the valley of death to the realms of serenity and peace. It was Chamberlain himself who expressed the hope that international demobilization would then take place.

What in fact is now taking place? Not demobilization; on the contrary the armament drive in this country under his guidance is growing in momentum. Every day we read of further steps being taken to increase our military efficiency. Money is being poured out to make this country a vast military camp, and every consideration is being subordinated to military demands. Stifled and dumb, the peace sentiment of three weeks ago finds itself bewildered, lost, and betrayed.

We have now reached a stage in this military drive where the very basis of our national existence is being threatened.

"National Service" Means Fascism

There is now the demand for "national service" and plans for this are already well prepared. But let there be no mistake.

Behind these plans for "national service" is inevitably the wholesale conscription of the nation for military ends. Without compulsion, "national service" is unworkable. Nothing will be allowed to stand in the way. Our ordinary rights as individuals will be scrapped.

"National service" is the beginning of national servitude. It means that this country is taking the first step to line up with the trampling tyrannies in other lands. It will mark the introduction of fascism into Britain.

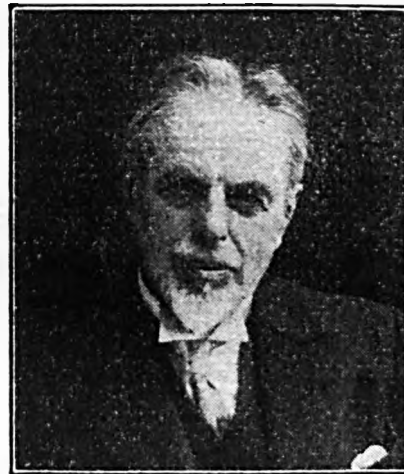
Friends of peace! Our fight for peace and liberty is not in Spain nor in Czechoslovakia. It is here now on our very shores. The British military corporate State is now in process of being fashioned. Is it to be established without protest, without any form of resistance? Is the voice of peace, because it has been betrayed by the political parties, not to be raised in opposition to a policy which in the end will make expressions of peace a criminal offence?

It Can Be Stopped

This call to peace and freedom must now be made. It needs to be heard in our towns and villages in ever-growing volume. The responsibility of organizing and guiding it must fall on those who oppose all war. The work is immense but the aims are greater. With the three chief political parties compromised, only pacifists can do this work of opposing the creation of a military corporate State in our country, to which end "national service" is the first step.

The people's will for peace made itself felt during the recent crisis. Mobilized and directed, it can stop this threat to our freedom. Every group of the Peace Pledge Union, every reader of *Peace News*, every pacifist can help to mobilize and direct it. Throughout the land the pacifist movement can become the focal point of a drive against conscription, and for peace, before it is too late.

It is not yet illegal to mobilize the will for peace by demonstrations, mass meetings, and distributing pacifist literature. If this opportunity is taken it need not become so. But the opportunity must not be lost—the price of freedom is eternal vigilance.



Laurence Housman

STRAIGHT FIGHT LIKELY IN GLASGOW ELECTION

Pacifist's Good Prospects

THE nomination of Dr. Benesh, former President of Czechoslovakia, as Nationalist candidate in the Rectorial Election at Glasgow University, having been withdrawn, a straight fight seems certain between

LAURENCE HOUSMAN, a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, who is standing as pacifist candidate; and

SIR ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR, Leader of the Opposition Liberals in Parliament. Liberal candidate.

Polling is today (Saturday) and our correspondent reports the tide is definitely moving with the pacifist candidate.

Crowded and enthusiastic meetings have been addressed by Max Plowman, Donald Attwater, Canon Stuart Morris, and George Lansbury.

STILL "ON THE MAP"

One thing is now certain: whether or not Laurence Housman wins, and thus repeats Dick Sheppard's triumph of last year, the university has been deluged with propaganda which will be of immense value in the future. Last year's victory put "pacifism on the map"; whatever the result of the election, this year's campaign has certainly kept it there.

That this has been possible has been largely due to the generosity of those all over Britain who have contributed to the election fund. (A further list of contributions received appears on page 9.)

Aid for Czech Refugee Children

A satisfactory response has been received to the appeal of the War Resisters' International for funds to assist the Prague branch in their efforts to receive a number of refugee children from the Sudetenland at their new home in Myto, near the new frontier. More contributions are needed urgently, however.

It is noteworthy that the amount so far received has been largely composed of small contributions, showing that the rank and file of the peace movement is sharing the concern.

(Premysl Pitter, Czech representative on the Council of the War Resisters' International, writes on page 2.)

Problems and a Great Opportunity Face Us as a Result of the Munich Agreement

Problems

IN CENTRAL EUROPE

By **PRIMYSL PITTER**
(Czech Representative on the
Council of the War Resisters'
International)

It has been, and still is, a terrible time for my fatherland and for my people. Seven months of the most extreme tension; every day fresh hopes, every day awful disappointment.

No wonder that many men and women, especially Jews, lose mental balance and crowd the asylums or resort to suicide. Even the ranks of those in our own fellowship are weakened, and will hear nothing more of pacifism. Only those stand firm who have not lost faith in God and his justice and guidance.

Against England with its unclear double-faced policy, but especially against France, there prevails among my people the sharpest bitterness. It is being said that the Nazi-Germans are our enemies, but the French, whom we have loved as brothers, and whom we were at all times ready to help by hastening to their aid—they have betrayed us. Pacifism is looked upon as merely weakness and self-interest.

PROFOUNDLY SHOCKED

After the first dictated settlement of September 21, the Czech nation was naturally profoundly shocked, but one soon began to hear such comments as: "If we have not succeeded in living together peacefully with the Sudeten Germans, then let them go wherever sentiments lead them!"

Even the loss of many thousands of Czech citizens in the Sudeten districts was regarded as a sacrifice made in the interest of world peace and people set about with confidence to make a fresh start.

One even heard it suggested that when all was said and done there might be after all some advantage in what had happened.

But a profound change took place on October 7, shortly before my departure from Prague. Contrary to every assurance given by Hitler we suffered a second dictated arrangement; purely Czech towns and districts were to be occupied by the German army and our retirement was to take place without delay.

Eight hundred and sixty thousand Czechs found themselves over night within the Third Reich, together with hundreds of thousands of German democrats and communists who had no wish to fall a prey to the Nazi regime.

I saw men weeping like children in the street. I heard this news for the first time in the tram car—not one among the passengers could restrain his tears.

HENLEIN'S VENGEANCE

Thousands upon thousands of refugees, among them mothers and children, stream from the occupied areas to the interior of our land. Police, gendarmes and soldiers drive them back again.

I saw the trains and stations full of weeping people, carrying in rucksacks or packages all the possessions they had been able to bring away with them.

Those men who have been politically active, together with their families, are in danger of the vengeance of Henlein's people. In areas where the German army is in occupation, order prevails. But what will happen when the military depart? The Czechs lose their posts and their work, democratic Germans and Jews will be terrorized.

There is talk of the possibility of exercising an option; but there are relatively few Germans left in the Czech area, and still fewer have any wish to transfer themselves to Germany; for they are people who have their homes and possessions here and who regard Bohemia and Moravia as their native land.

And what is going to happen to the twenty or thirty thousand civil servants of Czech nationality who will now have to leave the occupied territory? What about the thousands of people who will opt for Czechoslovakia?

SCANDALOUS LIES

The Czech nation has met the scandalous lies of German propaganda with the greatest dignity. One only needs to compare the speeches of Hitler, Goebbels, and

Goering with those of Dr. Benesh, to realize this. On the one side infamy, hate, and brute force; on the other appeal to the highest human values and the utmost concessions.

It is true that the Czech Government made mistakes; they allowed themselves to be led astray by the mistrustful and false policy of so-called "collective security." I was always a severe critic and a sharp opponent of this policy. But was it not precisely the western "democratic" Powers who compelled Czechoslovakia to adopt it?

If French statesmen, instead of offering the most sacred assurances, had said to the Czechs: "We are not quite sure whether we shall be in a position to make good the agreements we have entered into," the Czech Government would have steered a quite different political course, would have adopted a policy of rapprochement with Austria and Germany.

About the period 1920 to 1922 there was with us as in Austria a strong disposition to form alliances between these two countries. At that time the Czechs were in high favour in Austria because they had given that country economic assistance. The old hostilities had been forgotten.

It was precisely the French Government which objected to this alliance and which drove Dr. Benesh to build up the less natural and less advantageous Little Entente with Rumania and Yugoslavia.

If our association with Austria had come about it would probably have prevented the annexation of that country by the Reich, and as a further step in this pacifist policy, friendly relations might have been attained with a Germany at that time democratic.

National socialism would not have found so much material available for its use; the Sudeten Germans would, on the other hand, have found their natural home within this regenerated, healthy, political, economic, and cultural system.

It is important to realize this, although historical reminiscences cannot help us now. The fortunate moments of historical evolution are gone, and we must consider what we now have to do.

HATRED IS GROWING

The great injustice and betrayal to which our people has been subjected are now in their turn calling forth injustice within our nation. Hatred is growing as the inevitable reaction to the attitude of heroism and nobility which has been retained for so long. It is nothing more than the expression of despair.

The nation is sick and suffering. This reaction manifests itself in blind rejection of every opinion and activity of an international and pacifist nature. Even anti-semitism, which has up to the present been almost absent from us, is beginning to develop alarmingly as a consequence of the increase in Jewish immigration.

The rough forms of Nazi power find their imitators, who call for a sharply nationalist policy. On the one hand, for the sake of its own continued existence, Czechoslovakian policy must move along the line of least resistance; on the other hand, however, it must adopt an internal policy of strong nationalism.

There is no room with us now, for some time to come, for any supra-national ideas, embracing all mankind. Socialism is thrust back.

We pacifists, so far as we still exist at all, must withdraw into the sphere of purely social service. Our new Children's Home, which we opened on October 1, out in the country about thirty miles from Prague, will be given over entirely to the care of refugee children.

We have formed a committee to pursue plans for the accommodation and settlement of refugee families in the more sparsely populated areas of our country. Our friends abroad are offering financial contributions to the official organization for social welfare.

This is, of course, good and proper, but voluntary social work suffers thereby from a complete lack of funds. It is well known with what self-denying love the voluntary social workers have devoted themselves to their cause.

CALL FOR JUSTICE

The primary purpose, however, of my journey to England was not to collect money, but to make a last-minute attempt to secure a greater measure of justice in the final fixing of the new frontiers; for must it not call forth all the worst sentiments in a people when foreigner and enemy together decide upon its fate without even calling it into consultation? Is not this merely to accumulate material for a future conflagration?

The second point I wished to discuss is the problem of grouping together the small States of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

For if the disintegrating process of so-called

Opportunity

FOR A GENERAL SETTLEMENT

By Professor **GEORGE CATLIN**

DURING the last few weeks we have passed through the valley of the shadow of death. "The downfall of European civilization," on the lips of hard-bitten journalists, has been no mere phrase.

Three weeks ago American cruisers were in the Thames to evacuate American citizens. The London hospitals had been warned to keep beds for air raid victims. War was avoided precisely four hours from zero hour.

If this world war had been no worse than the last, then we may say that thirteen million people have been spared death. Millions of children have been spared starvation deliberately planned by some nigh-minded and patriotic Minister of Blockade.

WILL IT LAST?

Will this truce last and become an enduring peace? Do not let us rashly answer "yes." There are forces making powerfully in the opposite direction.

There are those who believe that war between the haves and have-nots is inevitable.

There are those who believe that it is better to have a world war, although this means all our standards of living for the common man must sink after years of sweat to a far lower level, in order that we may begin again, out of the wreckage of war and civil war, "upon the right lines."

Out of hate is to come fraternity. There were those moreover who, instead of themselves joining the armed forces of which they approved, maintained until the eleventh hour that the policy of Hitler was "just bluff"—that because Hans and Fritz genuinely wanted peace, therefore the dictators would not throw the dice of war.

These were usually the same people who also maintained that the dictators "inevitably meant war."

NO PEACE UNLESS...

There will be no peace unless we have a clear conscience. International law is an affair of dirty rags of legal parchment unless it is inspired by the spirit of equity.

Has international equity been betrayed? That depends upon whether the Czechs are deprived of their rational, natural right, in accordance with Woodrow Wilson's Tenth Point, to develop autonomously their own powers.

At present they have not been deprived. It depends whether settlement is by discussion, even while the armies wait, or by force.

We must not say, "You do not threaten effective violence, therefore it is inopportune to discuss your case now." That consideration the Hungarians, with their perfectly good claims against Rumania, and the Polish Ambassador have pointed out to our Foreign Office.

Has Czechoslovakia been betrayed? As I said in a previous article, it is a magpie State backed by Clemenceau instead of the Hapsburgs as a bastion against Germany.

The pure Czechs although for centuries subjects first of the Reich and then of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, have as much right as the Irish and Indians to their autonomy.

But (as pure-blood Czechs in responsible positions have said to me) settlement of the Sudeten question, although it could have been peacefully effected, has been deliberately procrastinated by M. Benesh, one of the peculiar beneficiaries of the Versailles peace, for these ten years.

Viscount Runciman's report was to the effect

Next Week

MR. GANDHI on
"Czechoslovakia and
Non-Violence"

(Continued from col. 2)

national self-determination makes still further advance it will result in complete chaos, in a European struggle of everybody against everybody else, whereby the smaller peoples will fall completely victim to the aggressor.

I have come to look for people who will help me, who will open doors for me and show me new ways. Nations who think that it is no concern of theirs what is happening here or there in distant foreign lands are making a terrible mistake. For mankind is a single organism and wounds in its most remote member may bring about the death of the whole body.

that it would not be possible for Sudetens and Czechs to live together in the same State. M. Stalin's Russia, indeed, promised armed help to Czechoslovakia. As the most heavily armed nation in the world it could.

But, like Shylock, Stalin held to the letter of his bond. France must come in first. Later it was stated that Russia might give aid to the Czechs, just as in Spain, unofficially.

A comment on this is the remark to me in Paris, two weeks ago, of one of the most eminent and pro-government among the Moscow foreign correspondents. "The Russians will send a thousand planes and then no more; they will use the Poles as an excuse."

That Stalin, who stands strategically behind his fastnesses to lose least, stands politically in view of Nazi sentiment to gain most by a European War, is daylight clear.

BRITAIN'S EXAMPLE

But it is not for the Russians to talk of Czech betrayal. Britain, except under the Covenant, whose specific formal procedure has not been invoked, has never been automatically obligated and has rightly not been automatically obligated. It reserved its judgment on equity. There has been no betrayal and no dishonour, except for those who made to the Czechs foolish, rash promises.

We bear the best will to the Czechs as touching all that by democratic and Wilson's principles should be theirs. Their treatment of minorities sets an example to Rumanian, Pole, Italian and German, if not to ourselves in Ireland, to the French in Brittany or to the Swiss and Danes.

Germany, however, it will be said, and Hitler are not the same. Must there not be a war next year to prevent the march on Rumania or the threat to our Togoland; and to check German world hegemony?

Here is the real crux. Might it not be better to fight now than to fight next year without our allies? It is arguable that the answer is "yes."

That is the great issue of the next five years in British politics. Is the job now to build Mr. Jack Haldane's thousand miles of underground tunnels against the air war which is coming next year? (Since I was in Madrid just after Professor Haldane I have some perspective on the Spaniards' views of his views). Or are we through with all that?

It rests with the peace movement to settle that issue.

ORIGIN OF HITLER

Herr Hitler is not the product of spontaneous generation. His parents are Clemenceau and Lenin—without the Versailles settlement (so much less wise than the Congress of Vienna) and middle-class fear of physical-force communism, the Nazi movement would never have been within sight of power.

Germany is in a neurotic condition and Herr Hitler is the symptom of that neurosis. It is an intelligible neurosis.

A strict and bold adherence to international equity—not Triple Ententes christened as collective security and legalistic talk about the eternal sacredness of bad treaties—alone can cure it as it alone can cure the situation in the Balkans.

We have got to make up our minds that the Germans, as much as the Russians, are people with whom during the coming years we have got to live in peace. To put it briefly, so far as the regimes are concerned, we have got once again to sit down at table with sinners and murderers.

Mr. Winston Churchill's policy of internal intervention by arms was disastrously wrong in the case of Russia. It is wrong again in the case of Germany. We must ingratiate the will to peace with the common folk of Germany. We must press for a universal League that will include the Central Powers, with pacts of non-aggression.

To do this we must reckon and pay the necessary costs, including the discussion of colonial and general economic re-arrangements now. Not when the next crisis and "violent pressure" comes along. It is never weakness to say what one proposes to do before one is asked. Peace is the pre-condition of social advance.

SUPREME OPPORTUNITY

There are already those who are saying that war is "inevitable" next year. They would cast out Hitler by Beelzebub. M. Jules Sauerwein, editor of *Paris Soir* criticizing these advocates of an armed crusade, declares that "the situation for the future is not unfavourable to peace."

Let us, however, be quite clear that, if it were a choice between war this year or next, it would have been far better to have had war and murder this year.

That it was avoided was in no small part due to the work of the peace movement—I do not refer to the legalists and plasterers of machinery—over the past twenty years.

That movement now instantly requires development and large-scale resources. If it was not murder this year still less must it be murder next year.

We need a will for fraternity sweeping over all barriers of ideology. We have a supreme opportunity, which we can count out by months, of procuring a general settlement and of rendering, thanks to this mighty precedent, this very miracle of God, resort to war a method obsolete in the comity of nations just as the abomination of chattel slavery is now obsolete.

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NOW IS THE TIME TO DISARM

SENT BY A READER

**Peoples Can ★ Danger of Ruin
Ensure Friendship ★ If No Action Soon**

FRENCH WRITER ON THE LESSON OF MUNICH

"If we will it, nothing can stop the coming together of the peoples—particularly of France and Germany," declares Robert Tourly in a strong plea for disarmament as a sequel to the Munich Agreement, printed in the French pacifist weekly, *La Patrie Humaine*.

"There have been talks," he writes. "We have avoided a recourse to force. But we must abolish that force which ensures only war and which is exhausting the peoples."

"We must immediately call a world conference to bring about disarmament." If this is not done soon, he warns, ruin awaits the peoples, even without war. He goes on to reply to the cry for more arms, now being raised in France, as in Britain.

ONLY SOLUTION

"Nevertheless, we are already being told that it is necessary to perfect our armaments, to repair, as M. Leon Blum put it,



M. LEON BLUM wants to repair "the gaps in the military organization."

"the gaps in the military organization."

"Is that, then, to be the only lesson of the Munich conference?"

"We do not accept such a fatalistic resignation. There is no other solution but disarmament for the evil from which the world is suffering."

IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

England's Responsibility

COMMENTING on the crisis, a pacifist travelling in India writes:

"Here, Gandhi has created a new type of resistance along civilized lines—non-cooperation—which is more powerful than war, if everyone joins it."

"Englishmen are now being told that they must throw away their lives to defend freedom and crush imperialism. I wonder how many of them realize that in India England is upholding that very system."

"If you could see the terrible poverty of the peasants, who spend their whole lives struggling to pay rents, taxes, and 'interest,' you would realize that they are treated worse than the Germans would treat the Czechs."

MONEY SQUANDERED

"This State revenue, wrung from the peasants, is squandered right and left by the hundreds of autocratic princes, who are all maintained in power by 'democratic' Britain. That is why they are now offering to help Britain in the war—simply to curry favour with their British masters."

"Of course, they do not consult their subjects when making these generous offers. The subjects must just do as they are told."

A dispatch from Jawaharlal Nehru has been published in the organ of the Congress Party in Lucknow, declaring that the British and French Governments have, by siding with the nazis and fascists, "made sure of war tomorrow if not today—a tomorrow when friendless and despised they will look in vain for sympathy and help."

Poet's License

THIS witty poem appeared in the magazine of Scots College, Wellington, New Zealand, which maintains a cadet corps:

RONDEAU

*That wars may cease, death's deadly trade
Is taught to children; on parade
They learn to mutilate and kill,
And with familiar ease and skill,
To use the rifle and the blade.*

*The nations pray for heavenly aid,
That war's advance may yet be stayed,
And still deluded armies drill,
That wars may cease.*

*The war clouds spread their threatening shade,
But heedless, man is unafraid.
For war to him is story still,
He's quite content to sleep and swill,
While ploughshares into swords are made,
That wars may cease.*

P. E. J.

It was written by a sixth-form scholar.

Myth of Japanese "Menace"

to New Zealand

THEY DID NOT KNOW N.Z. EXISTED!

AN interview on the "Japanese menace" to New Zealand with an economist, Mr. George Lawn, although published in 1936, is as topical and pertinent now as it was then (writes a New Zealand correspondent at present in Britain).

Mr. Lawn, whose knowledge of pacific countries was reported by the *New Zealand Bulletin* to be "probably as great—if not greater—than that of any other man in New Zealand," declared that the so-called menace to New Zealand was "the feverish nightmare of a fear-ridden military mind."

"One of the most chastening experiences I have ever had," he continued, "was when I discovered from actual contact with the Japanese that, on the whole, they were completely unaware of our existence."

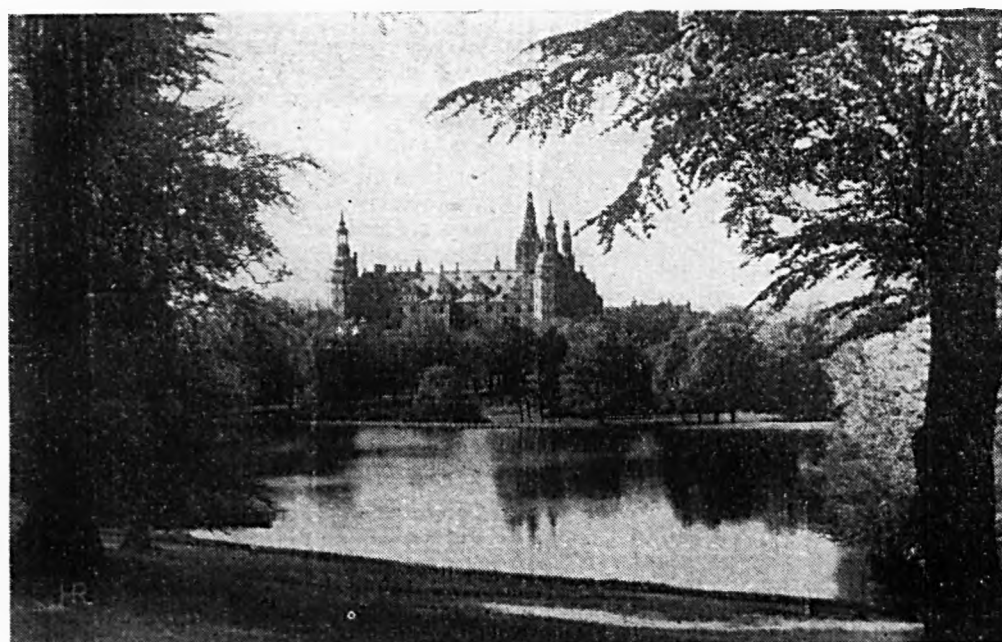
Mr. Lawn said that people who spread a rumour of a Japanese military plot to invade New Zealand were "either appallingly ignorant or else have an ulterior motive in attempting to create a war-mindedness in New Zealand."

THE REAL NEED

After explaining that Japan's need was not the emigration of millions of people, the Japanese being "definitely a home-loving people who do not make good colonizers," Mr. Lawn said it was "purely and simply a question of finding supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs and, as a natural corollary, markets in which to sell the goods manufactured from the raw materials."

"Japanese authorities recognize that they can meet the requirements of an expanding population and the desire for higher standards of living only by expanding their manufacturing industries."

"In order to expand their export trade of manufactured goods Japan requires coal, iron, cotton, wool, and so on, and also a certain amount of rice and wheat and other food to supplement the home-grown variety."



This picture of Frederiksberg Castle, Denmark, was sent by Mr. G. D. Piper, of Richmond, Surrey.

CRISIS SHOWED FUTILITY OF THE GREAT WAR Conference and Disarmament Can Prevent Another

"PROBABLY never before in history has such a stupendous crisis so exactly repeated itself within one generation, while we who remember the first are still here and articulate to tell the tale." So said Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, author of *A Study of International Government*, and secretary of the American War Resisters' League, at a meeting held by the League in New York.

"Twenty years ago," she continued, "the world was terrified before German militarism, democracy was threatened, small countries invaded. The cry then was, *Unite. Do not lie down before aggression, but meet force with force.* The world responded. Ten million young men killed one another, and the right side won."

"German militarism was crushed, absolutely and unconditionally, but after twenty years here it is again, more terrible than ever, because of the war itself, because of the smashing victory of the Allies, because of the Treaty of Versailles that attempted to liberate small nations, do away with tyranny, and create world peace by violence."

CALL A CONFERENCE

Dr. Hughan continued: "Now for twenty years collective security has been tried out on paper, and has refused to materialize anywhere else. Preparedness has been tried out, and democracy has been carrying on a game of bluff."

"Now the bluff has been called by Germany. Britain, France, and the democratic nations must either say to Hitler, 'You win,' or proceed to destroy themselves and civilization in another world war."

"We pacifists say, 'Drop the bluff of collective security. Call a world conference upon all the problems left over from the war.'

"But since a conference can do little when everyone has a hand on his pistol pocket, let the United States take the lead in frank and complete disarmament."

Mr. Roosevelt's message in which he reminded Hitler that "resort to force in the Great War failed to bring tranquility; victory and defeat were alike sterile" was

REFUGEE CONVENTION IN FORCE

The Convention of February 10, dealing with the status of refugees from Germany, has been ratified by Great Britain and Belgium and will come into force on Thursday.

Under it, refugees are entitled to sojourn and reside in the countries of refuge, although certain reservations have been made. Under an additional protocol soon to be adopted the convention will also apply to refugees from formerly Austrian territory.

It is reported from Australia that many Jews are trying to settle in that country, although under the Government's policy only a small proportion of those applying can be admitted.

welcomed in a telegram sent to the American President by the Women's Peace Union, New York. The union is a national organization working for universal total disarmament and is affiliated to the War Resisters' International.

The telegram recalled that many members of the Women's Peace Union had opposed the Great War "from passionate conviction that violence and bloodshed are always wrong in principle and disastrous in practice," and added, "The tragic history of twenty years has proved us right."

"Relative" Merits

A medal on war and peace, by Chester Beach, issued by the American Society of Medalists last year, has been awarded the 300 dollars Lindsey Morris Memorial prize given annually at the bas-relief exhibition of the National Sculpture Society.

On one side the medal carries the legend "In Peace Sons Bury Their Fathers," and on the other side "In War the Fathers Bury Their Sons."

A solemn, dignified funeral procession showing the sturdy youths bearing the pallet of their father illustrates peace, while in dramatic contrast a bent old man carries the limp figure of his son amid a scene of fire and desolation with vultures in the offing.

NEW YORK CONVENTION

The Caravan, an international correspondence club in New York, will hold its first convention on October 28, 29 and 30, in New York.

During these three days there will be a series of meetings in which the problems of childhood will be discussed by teachers and educators from various points of view.

The Caravan was founded four years ago with the main object of creating friendship among the children of all lands.

"WAR PREPARATION and DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES"

A National Conference at

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FRIDAY EVENING and SATURDAY,
OCTOBER 28th—29th

To consider:

The propaganda for "National Service" and "Registration."

A.R.P. and Civil Freedom.

The Challenge to Trade Union Rights and Standards.

Ways and Means of Strengthening Democratic Action, and Proposals for future action.

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Speakers include: Dr. C. E. M. JOAD; NEIL LAWSON; J. D. BERNAL, F.R.S.; H. H. ELVIN; W. H. THOMPSON; RONALD KIDD; Mrs. DUNCAN HARRIS.

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Arranged by the National Council for Civil Liberties and the National Peace Council.

Particulars from the N.P.C.,

39 VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, S.W.1

NEW BOOKS

SEEKING A PURPOSE

Darkness My Bride. Ethel Mannin. Jarrolds. 7s. 6d.

Reviewed by Morna MacLaggart

IF a writer, during the six months or so he spent in producing a novel, moved from West Kensington to South Mimms, and from South Mimms to East Acton, would he, at the foot of the last page of his work, write "West Kensington-South Mimms-East Acton"?

If it is Dubrovnik and Split he, that is to say, she, does. "Dubrovnik-Split-London"—that is the finish to *Darkness My Bride*.

If writers would occasionally end up with "British Museum," it would, in some cases, provide interesting information. But I am sure no-one will doubt that Ethel Mannin has been in Russia.

Her sixteenth novel is about a man in search of a purpose.

This fact is first supplied by the blurb—which is probably not her fault. But it is offered again within the first few pages, and then again after a few pages more, and so on throughout the book.

Books have been written before about men in search of purpose. But I should think it likely that every one that hammers in the point is a failure. An intense and unceasing concentration on the need for a purpose is a symptom, as a rule, of a very neurotic condition.

Singled out, overstressed, the symptom becomes merely theoretical and unconvincing. To be in the least interesting it should be kept in its place.

But as it is the moral rather than the mental aspect of the need for a purpose that interests Miss Mannin, she gives little time to the creation of the whole structure of a straining, cracking mind. In fact, she does not seem to think that her hero is in quite such a bad way as he must have been if he really went on harping on purposes such as a great deal of the time.

He keeps it up all the way by tramp steamer to Bordeaux, and then on to Marseilles, and then to Batum, Tiflis, and finally Frauenburg a German village "bang in the middle of the steppes."

He finds his solution by dying in helping the escape of a deserter from the Red Army, who wants to get out of Russia and fight in Spain.

The author's own summing up of it all is this:

Taking the short view you see only a long journey, a series of journeys, ending on the dark plain of the steppes, in loneliness, terror, and pain. But the larger vision sees the flame of a young poet's passion for liberty behind the man's death, a service rendered in the cause of freedom, that lonely death crowning a life that had been purposeless till then, giving it meaning, yielding this moment of truth.

Personally, I could manage neither the short view nor the larger vision. I saw only a competent, impersonal novel written a great deal too closely around a theory.

BRITISH IN INDIA

British Social Life in India. By Dennis Kinkaid. Routledge Kegan Paul. 15s.

The author describes the everyday activities of the early English settlers in India with vivid details afforded by letters and diaries of men of the time. He quotes many amusing extracts from early writings which give us intimate insights into the lives of men and women who, unconsciously, were forming one of the greatest Empires the world has ever known.

The objects of the first traders in India were exactly the same as those of any traders—they wanted to make as much money as they could. There could have

been little thought of introducing better ways of living to the natives of the country, because it is made clear in almost every quotation from letters written by the English settlers themselves, that there were extravagances of every kind in the lives of the creators of the present British Empire.

There are constant references to drunkenness, over-eating, over-dressing and cruelty, although the rules of the East India Company "represented an ideal of conduct."

There is the trivial but delightful reference to a Mr. Mildenhall, who in 1599 visited Persia where "he learned the art of poisoning by which he made away three other Englishmen . . . but himself tasted of the same cup and was exceedingly swelled. . ."

This early part of the book is a series of very interesting, private scandals, and as such is very amusing; but at the same time, it shows a very wide knowledge and deep understanding of the early social life of the British in India.

The extravagancies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are described with the same accurate detail, with constant references to specific people which all help to give us a more vivid reality.

Grandeur and pomp increased and the morals of the majority of the people declined. There were, naturally, a few exceptions to this general rule, and men like Warren Hastings are described as having led comparatively puritan lives.

The late Mr. Kinkaid has inserted a charming picture of the return of Lord Cornwallis to Government House. The decline in extravagance and licence at the end of the nineteenth century is, in part, attributed to Cornwallis's dislike of ceremonious extravagances.

By 1840 social activities were as formal as they had been licentious. The routine of morning rides for the men seem to have been as much of an institution then as they are now. Severity took the place of the disorder which had characterized British social life till the time of Cornwallis. But grandeur remained.

This picturesque and accurate pageant of the British in India makes very amusing and, at the same time, instructive reading. The author leaves the status of the British in India in a somewhat uncertain state.

With the gradual increase of Indian independence, the position of the British is changing almost day by day. The book shows in general that the social life in India has always been an exaggeration of the social habits at home.

It is a highly entertaining history of the social habits of the English, with accurate and intimate details taken from chronicles of the past and present.

ENGLAND IN TRAVAIL

Ordeal in England. By Sir Philip Gibbs. Heinemann. 5s. Right Book Club Choice for September.

The seventy odd pages which Sir Philip Gibbs has added to this book for the new edition brings his personal reflections on the British and European scene right up to date—or at least, right up to the beginnings of the recent "crisis."

His attitude to the Czechoslovak problem is very much in line with the settlement which Mr. Chamberlain brought back from Munich. He has few illusions about the Nazi regime, but does not subscribe to the widely held view that Germany must be smashed to make the world safe for democracy.

He realizes that Hitler has a case, however brutal his methods of advancing it, and is prepared to give the Fuehrer another chance to show that there are limits to German aggression.

Sir Philip anticipates that if, in fact, German expansion continues, it will eventually bring that country into conflict with Russia and result in a war which will weaken the two dictatorships to the advantage of the democracies. That is very comforting for us—but there seems to be at least as good a chance that if Hitler strikes again, he will strike at France.

E. W.

LETTERS FROM PRISON

I Was In Prison. Student Christian Movement Press. 1s.

This very impressive booklet consists of a number of letters from German Pastors suffering imprisonment for their faith. The book was first printed in Germany for private circulation only, and nearly 20,000 went into circulation before the Secret Police confiscated the remainder, which happily was only about twenty copies.

The expression of a patient and joyful endurance of ignominy and pain is common to each letter. The collection is remarkable for the fact that nowhere is there to be found any sense of injustice, any re-creation or resentment against the treatment they were receiving.

It was obviously not the intention of the German publishers to stir up public feeling against the Nazi regime, but to encourage those who were still faithful to the church, as they realized their unity with those who, with cheerfulness and courage, were facing the hardships and rigour of prison life.

The Student Christian Movement Press is to be thanked for their initiative in publishing this translation without the permission which obviously could not be obtained, for it adds another glorious chapter to the record of the privations which have been endured in order that the church might live.

CZECH MINORITIES

Czechoslovakia Within. By Bertram De Colonna. Thornton Butterworth. 5s.

Bertram De Colonna is foreign correspondent to several British papers and journals. Personal experience in Europe and a profound understanding of the history of the Czechoslovak State has produced this illuminating account of the problem which has become a grave menace to the peace of the world.

In his opinion "Czechoslovakia is not an economic unity, while geographically and historically there is nothing to hold the various parts of this artificially constructed State together."

From the evidence here given it would appear that many of the facts being trumpeted abroad by the self-assumed English protagonists of the Czech cause are incorrect.

Bohemia, far from being a Czech province from time immemorial, which Czech historians have endeavoured to persuade the world to believe, is proved to be of Teutonic origin, a fact attested by archaeological discoveries and local tradition.

It appears that the Czech people and their rulers were well content with their existence under the German eagle throughout the Middle Ages, but as is usual, dissatisfaction with the existing conditions, and a desire for a separate corporate existence was started by a group of ambitious politicians who appealed to folk lore as the basis of their claim.

The authenticity of this poetry is gravely doubted by experts, yet the standard Czech history is largely founded on the so-called evidence.

In a detailed statistical survey of the country the author reveals the suffering of the minorities under Prague domination. The Czechs, who themselves were a minority, had the whip hand over all the other nationalities, the Sudeten Germans being the principal sufferers, for their grievances were accentuated by the policy of the Prague Government to exclude Germans from all but few official positions.

Quoting a letter dealing with the problem which appeared in *The Times*—"It would indeed be a tragic irony if, having fought one war for the principle of self-determination, we find ourselves involved in another to prevent its application"—he proceeds to indicate his remedy for the injustices, which undoubtedly existed, in the granting of full autonomy for the various minorities concerned, the proportions of the different nationalities being determined by a secret plebiscite held under English control.

Events have since moved differently, however.

ARTHUR P. PITMAN

Pamphlets

Max Plowman's Report, at the first Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union. P.P.U. 1d.

It is not surprising that those who were given the privilege of attending the annual general meeting requested the publication of Max Plowman's report so that every member might catch something of its vision and inspiration.

Although it provides us with an indispensable survey of the history of the PPU yet it is something more than a mere report. It is a chapter from the history of a prophetic movement, and it therefore looks "as much to the future as it does to the past."

With the impudent boldness of the prophets of old Max Plowman dares to challenge the respectability and tradition which blind man's eyes of the only means by which righteous peace can be achieved:

The pacifist and political policy of Mr. Lansbury is, in my opinion, the only policy which can save Europe from disaster. Fools regard it as sentimental. Friends, there is less sentiment and more practical political commonsense in Mr. Lansbury's little finger than there is in the whole of the Cabinet.

For what the pacifist believes and advocates is based upon some understanding of man as a human creature made in the divine image. And what the rearmament programme is based upon is, first, the incompetence of British foreign policy for the past twenty years; and then, the consequent belief that other men and other nations become devilish and inhuman because—well, because they are foreigners born like that, and that therefore it is our duty as Christians and patriots to become a little more devilish and inhuman.

One further statement is significant in that it might have been written with special reference to the recent crisis:

Nearly all the signs are against us; but there are breaks in the clouds here and there, and who knows whether we may not be in for a long grey period of muddling and compromising through? The change we know to be essential is very great; even the idea of it only filters into human minds with appalling slowness and under the pressure of dire events.

Only one thing further remains to be said. Having seen the vision "let us be up and doing in the indomitable spirit of our late beloved founder."

A Philosophy of Peace and Practical Steps. By Douglas Owen. Owen, 2d.

Making such a timely appearance, this pamphlet is an excellent contribution toward the understanding of the application of the general principles of pacifism to the particular problem of national and international economy.

Based as it is on the writings of Henry George, it provides the answers to the main economic problems of the world, and as recent events have compelled a fuller understanding of this aspect of international relationships it should be read by all those who are anxious to propagate the philosophy of pacifism.

Reference is made to the phrase "needs of hungry nations," which appears in the Peace Pledge Union Manifesto. This hunger, it is pointed out, cannot be satisfied other than by the fruits of the land. Access to land is the first economic requirement of the poverty-stricken masses the world over:

With a fair land system and open ports, and trade made free, there could be no need for and no justice in waging any war.

For if the workers of this country had access to the vast territory of their own land awaiting colonization, on the sole terms that they should pay to the community the value which their holding had as compared with other land, none need then be unemployed and wages in industry would rise to the level of the untaxed earnings of independent cultivators.

Under such conditions the emancipated worker of this country would see no enemy in, neither could he be regarded as an enemy by the workers in other lands. If left free to trade with each other there would be nowhere any fear of invasion.

It is along these lines that the author has shown how the mutual relations of men and nations can be equitably and amicably adjusted to the varying productivity of the earth and with the ever-increasing specialization of a world which is becoming more and more an organic unit, it is the only alternative to the anomaly of poverty in the midst of plenty and its fatal consequences.

The War—As Before. George Glasgow. Peace Pledge Union. 2d.

This otherwise excellent pamphlet is spoiled by the concluding discussion on the question of colonies. It is gratifying to know that it appeared as an article in *The Contemporary Review*, whose readers must have been impressed by its cold logic which reaches its climax in the statement "full pacifism in the sense of an absolute refusal to make war in any circumstances whatsoever is the only guarantee of peace."

The conclusion is reached after a searching analysis of the European situation since the last war. "These were those," he says, "in the period of 1914 to 1918, who saw through the poverty of the argument that it must be a war to end war, who had the sense to protest with Milton: 'for what can war but endless war still breed?' But the impressive thing is not that the people who were right were then proved right. The truly amazing thing is that the people who were wrong were then proved wrong and they now again raise their clamant folly and demand that we do it all again."

It is only to be hoped, therefore, that this pamphlet will find its way into the hands of those who are again being deceived and will have the desired effect of persuading them to stay their country from a repetition of 1914 to 1918.

F. PERCIJOHN

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The Editor of
A Woman's Point of View
 writes on—

Evading Responsibility

THIS is written off Minorca and one's point of view suffers somewhat from the doubtful behaviour of wind and sea. Most faces around one wear the exquisitely thoughtful expression of those whose minds are concerned with their stomachs.

Yesterday, however, off the coast of Spain, the sea was flat and blue and minds were free to concern themselves with external rather than internal problems.

Few seemed to make use of this freedom. The most strenuous mental exercise for most people is guessing how many miles we have covered from noon to noon.

The remoteness and detachment is exceedingly infectious. Partly it is the reaction from the tenseness of the week of crisis, partly it is for many people the last interval before a renewed spell of hard work. But whatever the reason it remains the most obvious quality of this temporary existence.

★

IN the middle of yesterday's blue and sunlit afternoon a monoplane flew across the bows of the ship. There was a gun mounted on the wing. It went toward Spain.

People stirred out of their afternoon naps. For a moment the spell of remoteness was broken. We looked across at the mountainous line on the horizon. Momentarily everyone remembered that behind those grey hills war was being fought.

But it is not only aboard ship that men and women guard their remoteness jealously. It is the commonest evasion of responsibility and hard thinking. It is by no means always an intolerable remoteness. It often is the remoteness of a man or woman who has a fulltime job, who has work that demands the first and best of their being.

★

BUT indolent or active it is an evasion. If it is active one's conscience is saved—"I'm doing a job—I can't bother my head with social and international problems"—if it is indolent then one's conscience does not badger one because indo-

lence is impossible without a submissive conscience.

This evasion is not confined to any particular class or type. A vast army of persons take world affairs with their eggs and bacon—make them last a train journey and then leave them with their morning paper in the tube or train.

Until a crisis is threatened, until disaster hangs like a cloud over them. Then comes the hateful and bitter revelation that the important little private affairs of a man and woman can be smashed in a moment; that they are at the mercy of national and international affairs.

★

If this realization does nothing else it temporarily heightens imaginations and awakes minds to wider responsibility. How are we to keep this awareness, how are we to keep alive and sensitive this new roused imagination?

For if pacifism is to grow—if it is to be life and not death for the spirit, then these temporary qualities have to be made permanent.

The first necessity is that one's own pacifism shall have this poetic quality. I use the word doubtfully, realizing its common associations. But I mean to emphasize that unless one's pacifism is born of the imagination it has little chance of firing the imagination of others. And do this it must. Because viewed imaginatively pacifism is the amiable Utopian nonsense or the self-righteous humbug of a few.

★

WE need to be delivered from self-righteousness. To catch the flame of an idea is not to have a passport to heaven, and does not place one elect and apart. There is always the risk that the flame become precious and gloved with glass rather than allowed to do its inflammatory work.

Are you a safe flame in a glass globe or are you a danger to those around you—at this moment as inflammable as they are likely to be?

If at this time we do not make tremendous strides we ourselves are at fault. There can seldom have been a readier moment. M. S.

Pacifists and The Law

IN last week's *Peace News* Captain Philip Mumford, writing on "The Pacifist and Democracy" discussed the question of extending pacifist activity to the armed forces and decided against it on the ground that it clashed with his conception of democracy.

I am rather surprised by the appearance of this article as I had gathered that Captain Mumford did not wish this subject to be broached in *Peace News*. As, however, he has raised the issue he will presumably have no objection to my expressing another point of view on it—a personal one, of course.

CAPTAIN MUMFORD says "They (conscientious objectors) are entitled to criticize the Government; they are not entitled to interfere with the

activities of such a Government" (a democratic one respecting the right of conscientious objection.)

But to whom should we deliver our criticism of the Government if not to the community in which we live? If I make a speech to any of my countrymen (whether

By
ROY WALKER

they are in uniform or not) I do not obstruct them. Nor do I obstruct them by putting my argument on paper and distributing it in pamphlet form.

What does free speech mean if it does not mean liberty to do this? To dismiss such action as not over-scrupulous propaganda (as Captain Mumford does by implication) is meaningless. In itself the action is neither good nor bad. If the message is as true as I can make it—it is propaganda in the good sense of the term. If not, not.

BUT in either case it is illegal—under the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934—and this is the crux of the matter. Must the pacifist, from respect for the community in which he lives and of which he is a part, obey all legislation (except, in Captain Mumford's opinion, a conscription act without a conscience clause)?

I know of no better answer than Gandhi's:

The real meaning of the statement that we are a law-abiding nation is that we are

Vital Need for a Positive Pacifist Initiative - 2

The Alternative to Rearmament

By "NECTAIRE"

THE one clear conclusion that Mr. Chamberlain has drawn from the events of last month is that there must be an intensification of armaments preparation in this country.

He has a number of hopes that remain very vague, but this is completely definite. Indeed, there is every evidence that Conservative, Liberal, and Labour Parties will compete with each other in their demands for increased military preparation.

Increased military preparation is actually the only positive proposition before the country as the means to the maintenance of peace.

The conception of "collective security" as a proposition within the realm of practical politics is now out of the picture, and if the pacifists are able to seize it they have an exceptionally favourable opportunity to bring positive peace proposals of their own formulation before the public.

THE FIRST STEP

The pacifist attitude as seen by the man in the street is unfortunately a completely negative one. This negative "war is wrong; I will not fight" is the true first step in the decision that the pacifist takes. He appeals to his own conscience and his own strength of purpose and makes the resolution that for him war is really outlawed.

He calculates that if he can bring enough of his fellows to resolve with him they will compel the statesmen to find some other way than armed conflict to settle disputes between nations.

We have to recognize, however, that the statesmen and the politicians, whatever their political parties, get no nearer to finding any hopeful way to rescue the nations from the permanent menace of power politics and the trends that are impelling the world to catastrophic war.

THE POSITIVE CONCEPTION

Up to the present the only positive conception of international relations is that which is advocated by the various League of Nations societies and by members of most political parties as "collective security."

Under this conception it is laid down that all disputes between nations are susceptible to settlement by independent arbitration or by juridical means.

Let us establish this principle, say the advocates of this conception, and we have by this means provided a manageable formula for the recognition of an aggressor. The aggressor is that nation which in a dispute with another nation either refuses to submit the question to arbitration or judicial settlement, or which having done so refuses to accept the decision that has been given and resorts to arms.

BRITISH AND FRENCH

To the British and French peoples this may appear a very reasonable proposition; but then the British and the French are now in a situation in which their own knowledge of what they regard as their own lack of aggressive intention and their own desire for peace make it difficult for them to conceive of really fundamental issues arising as between States.

The British and the French are the two great imperialist nations of the world, controlling between them the greater part of Africa and huge Asiatic areas. What they recognize as peace is their being left unmolested in these great colonial possessions.

Were Britain a nation practically devoid of overseas possessions but with a government and people dominated (as they are now) by an imperialist outlook the propositions upon which the "collective security" conception stands would not seem so self-evident.

For the British people would in such a case easily conceive of fundamental issues of disputes which they would desire to raise, and they would be much more inclined than they are today to attach very great importance to the principles upon which disputes would be decided.

NO RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES

Now it is a fact that does not seem to be recognized, by those who are convinced of the validity and justice of the conception of "collective security" measures on the basis of a "rule of law," that there are no recognized principles upon which such a rule of law would operate in relation to any of the really fundamental issues which are likely to trouble the peace of the world.

There is a vague conception that there is a great structure of laws and understandings governing the relationships between nations that have been laid down since Grotius onward, but the overwhelming majority of such laws and conventions are designed to govern the conduct of nations actually at war; and most of the remainder deal with useful, although very minor, questions arising from nationality.

The conception of the League of Nations as the custodian of the peace of the world cannot be based on a network of legal decisions and precedents of this type.

What is required is something much more fundamental dealing with the major economic questions that condition the affairs of the world, and the Covenant of the League does nothing to provide this; nor have the activities of the League itself since its formation done anything to supply the omission.

There have been so many books based on the hopes to be placed on the new structure for the administration of international affairs that it was hoped that the League of Nations would provide, and so much exposition and propaganda based on its aims and its methods that most sincere supporters of "collective security" will be astonished at this assertion that I have made.

Nevertheless it is true. Just how little the Covenant does toward providing principles of law to govern international relationships I will try to demonstrate in the next article.

A "Case" of Incitement

A CASE of Peace Pledge Union literature, books, pledge cards, &c., was left in a school in a Midlands city where the local PPU group holds its meetings.

During the crisis seventy Territorials were billeted in the school, and, on leaving, took with them the case of literature.

The case was afterward recovered from one of their tents in the nearby park.

Get to know

ALLYSOL

Troilus and Czechoslovakia

DURING "crisis week" I agreed in a moment of escapism to go and see *Troilus & Cressida* in modern dress. As I ought to have known, it was no escape at all. From Agamemnon's speech about "Checks and disasters" to the terrifying modern battlefield in the last act, the crisis accompanied us.

Most significant of all were the arguments presented at the Council of War by the sons of Priam. The Trojans knew they were in the wrong, but threatened by armed force what could they do but fight?

Even Hector, who sees the futility of the whole business, agrees in the end that this is the honourable course, for, like Launcelot, "his honour rooted in dishonour stood."

But it is Paris—who, unlike Hector, had some personal stake in the matter—Paris, the cause of all the trouble, who appropriately voices what we might call the Versailles principle:

*But I would have the soil of her fair rape
Wiped off in honourable keeping her.
What treason were it to the ransack'd queen,
Disgrace to your great worths and shame to me
Now to deliver her possession up
On terms of base compulsion*

OUR RESPONSIBILITY

OUR councillors were wiser than those of Troy, or maybe they were more cowardly; but whatever their motives they decided against war—for the moment.

I have no praise for them. They—and we—were responsible for the situation in Europe. They gave pledges which should never have been given, and then broke them. They raised false hopes and then betrayed them. They were generous only with the things that were not their own.

The imperial camel still stands heavily loaded with the white man's burden of plunder before the needle's eye of peace.

From Whitehall the words of the Prime Minister came to us at the peak of the crisis:

However much we may sympathize with a small nation confronted by a big and powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in war simply on her account. If we have to fight it must be on larger issues than that.

Then something about his soul and being a man of peace. BUT:

If I were convinced that any nation had made up its mind to dominate the world by fear of its force, I should feel that it must be resisted. Just so; for the world cannot serve two masters. If Rome is to survive, delenda est Carthago.

HAD WAR COME

BUT had war come, those words of Chamberlain would have been forgotten in a few hours and we should have been "defending Czechoslovakia." From press and pulpit the word would have gone forth that we were fighting for democracy against fascist aggression. In *The Tribune* of September 16 John Strachey had already anticipated this aspect of propaganda, for, said he:

The capacity to resist and endure which is needed cannot be evoked unless the people feel that they themselves are in control of the situation, that they are fighting for their liberties, and not their masters' profits.

Strachey was, of course, trying to show that a war against Germany would be a sound Marxist war which could be supported with a good conscience by members of the Left Book Club and other desperate revolutionaries.

He even went so far as to say that the character of the war "would be such that... only the further democratization of the belligerent capitalist democracies could bring victory."

Soon after this article appeared the Czech Government (claimed to be the only democracy in Eastern Europe) illustrated its truth by censoring the press, suppressing public meetings (even those held by communists!) and generally assuming

those dictatorial Powers which governments commonly adopt in emergencies.

It is easy to imagine how much "further democratization" would have gone on in the event of actual war.

And yet Strachey said one thing which is deplorably true. In the first quotation I cited from his article, the operative word is "feel." Certainly the people will be made in any war to "feel" that they are fighting for every popular ideal and that they have complete control of the situation. ("Who make the Laws?" "Don't know, Teacher." "Write out one hundred times, then. *We make the Laws.*")

"I TOLD YOU SO"

THERE was a time when the "Left" in politics meant, on the whole, the anti-war parties.

At such a time as this it is no pleasure to say: "I told you so." But there were those of us who prophesied years ago that the peace ticket would be lost in the labyrinth of Geneva. And while the "Left" has wandered blindly on through "collective" security to open jingoism, the Tories have found the discarded peace ticket, which is also the season ticket for Downing Street.

Not all the Tories, it is true, have seized this opportunity, but the exceptions are ominous. Lord Lloyd, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Duff Cooper, and Mr. Amery are bristly bedfellows for the working-class leaders.

In the hour of crisis the Labour Party issued a statement which sounded reasonable enough. The *Message to the German People* from the National Council of Labour stated that the British Labour movement "stood for the principle that disputes should be settled by reason and negotiation and not by violence."

This statement would perhaps have carried more weight if it had not been accompanied by threats which might be paraphrased as a parody of a well-known song:

*We do not want to fight you,
But, by jingo, if we do
We shall suffer, the world will suffer,
And you shall suffer too.*

Equally lamentable was the entire absence of any recognition that our country had any responsibility for the crisis, or (indeed) any faults at all. Twice had a Labour Government been given the opportunity to lead Europe back to paths of sanity. In 1924 and again in 1929-31 they had reasonable governments with which to negotiate in Germany.

The "war guilt" lie could have been formally repudiated. "Reparations" could have been stopped years before. The territorial anomalies of Versailles could have been revised. Those who had forcibly disarmed Germany could have voluntarily disarmed themselves.

No effort was made to achieve any of these urgent objectives. Instead, Phillip Snowden was sent to The Hague to haggle with the French about who should have which part of the swag. He returned amid the plaudits of the capitalist press, hailed as the Iron Chancellor, who had proved a more successful bully than Churchill.

Surely some recognition of these facts would have been in place when condemning this Frankenstein product of our own crimes, the menace of F...

A NEW DEAL

IT was not till we had driven Germany mad, not till German patience was exhausted and the people turned to the desperate remedies of a dangerous quack, that the question of a "new deal" with Germany seriously arose. Even the settlement of disputes "by reason and negotiation" only arose as a direct result of Hitler's threats.

To German eyes it must have appeared strange that those who had refused to negotiate until threatened with violence should express their reprobation for the violence and take the credit for the negotiations as though they had themselves initiated them out of sheer good will.

In an imperialist world negotiation and threats are unfortunately inseparable. The men who sit round the table are considering not only the strategic significance of each proposal, but the extent to which the other side is able and prepared to defend or oppose it on the field of battle.

The force of their arguments is armed force; and whether the result is peace or war there can be no reason for pacifists to congratulate themselves.

Chamberlain has been compared, and has compared himself, to Disraeli, who returned from Berlin bringing "Peace with honour." He could



By
Reginald Reynolds

not have found a worse parallel, for Disraeli did to Russia, on that occasion, precisely what Hitler did to Chamberlain. Whether it was bluff or in earnest, Hitler threatened successfully, and England climbed down.

If parallels must be sought in the nineteenth century, Disraeli's description of Peel is much more to the point. "The Conservative Prime Minister caught the Labour Party bathing and walked away with their clothes" would be an apt paraphrase. Clad in these garments of peace he now faces their indignant owners.

"SAVIOURS OF PEACE"

THE recriminations which follow are worthy of the mad-house into which we have been born. Chamberlain has become the scapegoat for our sins and is denounced by the apostles of peace for not making war.

On the other hand, the Tories (who bear the prime responsibility for Versailles, rearmament, and particularly the rearming of Germany) raise their eyebrows at a party anxious to use Tory armaments for the defence of Versailles and the British Empire.

In their various capitals the "Big Four" are hailed as "Saviours of Peace" because they graciously decided not to fight. How many hundreds of lives have I saved by not poisoning people?

Meanwhile there are still issues on which Chamberlain is prepared to fight, and within the next few years or even months those issues may take concrete form.

Should that occur the inhabitants of our political glass houses will automatically stop throwing stones at each other and combine to throw them at Germany—also at the pacifists and the handful of socialists who are old-fashioned enough to stand by their principles.

It is our first duty to do all in our power to

prevent such a situation arising. We must persuade people that stones are more use for building than for throwing and set before them the positive demands of permanent peace.

ABOLISH AUTOCRACY

FOR example, they dislike fascism because it is autocratic. Then let them begin by abolishing autocracy in India and the British colonies.

Hitler and Mussolini have at least some claim to popular support: our Indian and colonial administrations can make no such claim, or none that will stand analysis.

We dislike the way in which the dictators muzzle the press. Then let us demand freedom of the press in the British Empire, where it is anything but free.

We object to fascist restrictions on freedom of association. Then let us demand the withdrawal of legislation in Kenya which forbids more than five persons to meet except for religious purposes.

Wholesale political imprisonments, and particularly imprisonments without trial, are among the crimes of fascism. Then let us oppose such measures in our colonies and in India, where a Labour Government recently imprisoned some 60,000 civil resisters to our autocratic rule, many of them without trial.

We abhor the persecution of the Jews in Germany. Let us demand equal rights for Negroes in Africa, for here is a majority treated even worse than the Jewish minority—deprived of the land on which it lives and reduced to conditions almost of slavery.

We object to fascist aggression in Czechoslovakia, Spain or Abyssinia. We have yet to give up the fruits of our own past aggression. Fascism leads to war. Let us then give up imperialism which also leads to war against rivals and "rebels."

"STORIES" DENIED

IN every detail we shall find that the beam resembles the mote. Atrocity stories are told of the treatment of Jews and political prisoners in Germany. Similar stories are told of British rule all over the world.

These stories are, of course, denied by the British authorities. The German authorities also deny such stories. Our imperialists say that "these people cannot govern themselves," that they have done a great deal of good for those whom they govern, that they are inferior people, born to be ruled, or "children" who need "paternal" government.

Hitler and Mussolini have their own phrases for expressing much the same idea. Sometimes they speak more brutally, which is silly of them. But I have heard Empire builders speak quite as unguardedly.

I come back in the end to Troilus, for there is a deal to be learnt from the play. The bitter cynicism of Thersites has more than a little sense in it: "I will keep where there is wit stirring and leave the faction of fools."

Further post-mortems on Munich and Czechoslovakia will hardly help us. The clock is ticking, and it is always later than we think.

AN OPEN LETTER TO A NON-PACIFIST

From
J. C. HALL

DURING the crisis you asked me how I should join up in the event of war. On being reminded that I was a pacifist, I believe that, for the first time, you appreciated my seriousness of purpose.

In such circumstances my resolution surprised you. I was equally surprised at your remark:

It is fortunate for the country that we don't all shirk fighting by a timely expression of conscientious objection!

Here is the answer I could not give you then.

You have utterly misinterpreted the pacifist principle. To you it is merely a refusal to fight. Nor are you alone in this negative view. I believe there are thousands who, like yourself, base their assumptions on inexcusable ignorance.

Consider this. Before 1914 the utter futility and brutality of war still remained to be convincingly proved to the nation in its entirety.

Pacifism before the war is hardly comparable with pacifism today. As a philosophy it was ill-defined; as a faith little held. Quite possibly much of the so-called conscientious objection was a temporarily

adopted refuge.

Be that as it may, the war finally established pacifism. Therein is the paradox: war today is the surest and quickest disseminator of pacifist opinion.

Pacifism has now become a highly influential act of constructive peacemaking. It is the satisfaction in activity of that intense personal desire to overcome helplessness. As such it is much more than a political creed; it is a way of life. That is the true definition.

Pacifism is primarily an act of peace-making, based upon the renunciation of war. The refusal to fight is no more nor less than the obvious outcome of such an attitude. Pacifism today can offer no protection from the indescribable horrors of war. Only a fool—and an iron-nerved one at that—would profess it for such.

In time of war the pacifist is forced to suspend wide activity. Such idleness is extremely odious to him. And to imply that this more negative aspect of pacifism is a mask for cowardice is incredibly illogical and unimaginative!

Pacifism, like all other vital institutions, is open to abuse. The very term pacifism is used with deplorable carelessness. This leads to misunderstanding.

Still, it is distressing to find that many non-pacifists are utterly deceived as to the essential pacifist principle.

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SPEAKING PERSONALLY

We Must Make Repentance Practical Politics

AT a certain period during the War—I think it was in 1917—the then Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the President of the Free Church Council and the Roman Catholic authorities, summoned the nation to an act of “humiliation and repentance.”

The tide of battle was not going too well for the Allies, and this induced doubt in many people's minds as to whether a “fight to a finish” was really the will of God for Great Britain. This doubt found political expression in the famous Lansdowne Letter in which an ex-foreign secretary pleaded for a peace by negotiation; military operations had produced a stalemate on the Western front, and it began to look as though, after all, the council table would have to take the place of the battlefield as a means of settling Europe's problems.

It was about that time—though I cannot put my finger upon exact dates—that the Archbishop's call came for “humiliation and repentance,” and throughout the churches of the land the call was answered by united gatherings for worship, in which sins were publicly confessed and prayer was made for divine pardon.

IT is easy to be cynical about the Archbishop's call; but no one who knows anything about the late Dr. Randall Davidson can doubt his single-minded sincerity and the honesty of his intention in asking for a people's repentance.

I recall the incident, therefore, not to deride either those who issued or those who responded to the call, but merely to speculate upon what might have happened if the call had been effective. For I am sure that—whether we use religious terminology or not—there can be no permanent and stable basis for world peace until the people generally adopt the attitude which is indicated by the word “repentance.”

The word occurs frequently in the New Testament, and is always a translation of a Greek term which means literally “change of mind.” The effect of repentance therefore depends upon the particular things in regard to which this “change of mind” occurs.

There were many people in 1917, for instance, who—in this sense—repented of drunkenness and the coarser vices; they “changed their minds” in regard to dishonesty and untruthfulness in ordinary workaday affairs. And so far, so good. But sometimes this “change of mind” took other forms.

A vicar in a south-coast watering place announced, in a sermon published at the time, that God withheld victory from British arms because He was angry with a people who indulged in Sunday games! The congregation therefore were called to

urges
LEYTON RICHARDS
in his final
article

show their repentance by forsaking the tennis courts and the golf-courses.

Apparently it was right to fire a rifle on Sunday—or even to choke your enemy with poison gas—but it was wrong to hit a ball or to have a friendly tussle on the links!

IN the Archbishop's call to repentance, however, there was one significant omission; for his message contained no hint or suggestion that the people needed to “change their mind” in regard to the central issues of war and peace.

It is not difficult, therefore, to see in this omission the real reason why the “act of humiliation and repentance” left the life of England exactly as it was.

But suppose it had been otherwise; suppose the people generally had taken the Archbishop at his word when he called for repentance; suppose, for instance, that the Archbishop had called the people to “change their mind” in regard to the proper treatment of one's enemies from a Christian standpoint, or the right kind of statecraft for ensuring a durable peace; suppose . . .

But why extend the catalogue? I have said enough to show that true repentance would have signed the death-warrant of war and discovered the key to world peace.

WHAT was true in 1917 is still true in 1938; for the mere passage of time has nothing to do with eternal principles; and that is why, now, as then, repentance—“change of mind”—is the prime need of the moment in our approach to the international situation.

I confess that here, as elsewhere, my thinking proceeds primarily from a Christian standpoint; and it does so, not because I am bound by any mere reverence for the canons of orthodoxy, but because the Christian faith presents me—in the person of Jesus Christ—with a living standard of life and conduct which induces in me a sense of obligation. Moreover, I interpret that fact as the pressure of the moral order of the universe—or in religious terms—the movement of the spirit of God upon my soul and conscience. I do not stay here to argue that conclusion; I merely affirm it in passing.

In other words, I equate the life of Jesus with the life of God and I therefore feel that I ought to react to men and things in the spirit in which he reacted 1,900 years ago. I may fail—as we all do—to fulfil my sense of obligation as I face the fact of Christ; but when I do so I know that I am at fault, and that (in the words of the General Confession) I “have left undone those things which I ought to have done, and done those things which I ought not to have done.”

Jesus always assumed that in his presence this sense of obligation would spring to life; that indeed is why he was such a disturbing force in the life of his day; men might accept the moral challenge of His life or they might reject it, but they could not ignore it or live as though he did not count.

It is this fact which gives significance to the frequent demand for “repentance” on the lips of Jesus; for whenever we contemplate the Gospel portrait, we are urged to a complete “change of mind” which

issues—if we yield to that urge—in an entirely new mode of thought and life.

THE bearing of this upon the international situation is obvious. Start, for instance, with the ordinary outlook of the ordinary man upon foreign affairs.

Human nature is always prone to blame others for its own faults, and this attitude is nowhere more blatant than in the realm of international life; for the people of every country loudly assert that they are compelled to rearm solely because others refuse to disarm. That is, the note of national self-righteousness is everywhere dominant, and consequently each people claims that it is acting only in self-defence, while others are guilty of aggressive designs.

The Christian way of meeting such a situation is to bring the whole issue into the presence of God, as we see him in Jesus Christ. For, when we do that, self-righteousness immediately yields to repentance, and we are aware of a fundamental “change of mind” which transforms the whole of our outlook.

From a Christian point of view, therefore, we discover that our own nation is as blameworthy before God as every other. For instance, all alike are prepared to “render evil for evil” by resorting to war; most if not all, have been guilty of imperial brigandage; all, at some time, have trampled on weaker neighbours; and so the catalogue could be extended.

Suppose, however, that some nation broke the fatal circle of self-righteousness by a frank confession of its own share in the world's sin. Or put it otherwise: suppose some statesman, in the name of his people, said to all mankind, *We also are men of like passions with you; we, like you, have despised the will of God; we have been afraid to follow Christ's way of peace; we have put our own interests before the interests and well-being of humanity at large.*

What would be the effect of this public act of repentance? No exact answer can be given; but, in the light of the Christian faith, we are justified in believing that the mere utterance of such a confession would change the whole atmosphere of international life; and then—in the new relationships thus created—the emphasis could be transferred from mutual suspicion to mutual confidence.

I WANT to urge that this note of repentance is an essential preliminary to a constructive approach to the problems of peace.

It is no use, for example, calling for a new conference to rewrite the Peace Treaties of 1919, if the representatives of Great Britain go to the conference intent merely upon maintaining British imperial privilege; they must be prepared instead to repent of their imperial past, and to surrender the whole conception of an exclusive empire in the interests of world peace.

The same applies to the inequitable control of raw materials and markets, which are today the chief bones of contention in the international field; for only by an act of repentance on the part of the possessing Powers can these things be so rearranged that no single nation shall have a monopoly and all shall have a share.

But true repentance will carry us further than this. If the mind of Christ is our criterion, it will touch the very roots of our system of so-called “defence”; and we shall recognize that peace rests not upon force or the threat of force, but upon the equities of political and economic justice. How justice would work out in terms of

practical politics cannot be predicted in precise terms; but what matters most is the spirit rather than the details of any political plan. The essence of the situation lies in the familiar saying that “where there's a will there's a way”, but that “will” can only come from repentance, as men undergo that “change of mind” which renounces the way of violence and accepts the way of justice.

THE whole process can be summed up in an imaginary picture. The plenipotentiaries of the nations are meeting to consider how to re-order the world so as to ensure perpetual peace; over the presiding officer's tribune are the words, “He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her”; and in obedience to that injunction, the British representative confesses the sins by which Britain's empire has been acquired and is maintained; he pledges his country's will to lay aside the fruits of past aggression and to seek an equitable adjustment between the “haves” and the “have-nots.”

The Frenchman follows in similar vein; and the German then announces that behind the bluster and militarism of the Reich has been a too-ready intention to rid his land of injustice by inflicting injustice upon others, both within and without the borders of the Fatherland.

Nation follows nation in similar confessions; and the first session of the new peace conference ends by the appointment of a commission which is charged to devise ways and means of uniting all the nations in a common war upon the economic poverty which is mankind's common foe; and in a concerted endeavour to construct a world federation in which the resources now dedicated to the destructive arts of war shall be diverted to the constructive purposes of peace.

Is the picture too fanciful? It all depends upon our willingness to apply repentance to the realm of practical politics.

To Peace

By ERULAF

*Each hour Death hovered round thy head.
Men knelt in anguish at thy bed—
Distract with Fear, raised haggard eyes
To mystic light beyond the skies—
They murmured sadly, Peace be still.
O, unseen Power, by Thy strong will
Drive out the age cruel and cold
That circles her in warlike hold
Oh, lift her up who fades from life
Amid the nations, seething strife
And lo! you answered, radiant light,
Shone through drear darkness of black night*

*Illumined souls o'ercome by grief.
Time's moving hand sent out relief
And silenced sirens shrill and loud—
Yes, raised the heavy, looming cloud
That drifted through the trembling air
And shrouded every tranquil lair.
Yes, silenced Death's sad symphony
In calm and peaceful harmony.
Praised be the light that saved the world—
Saved life on Earth from being hurled
To raving madness, warfare's guile
To deep gbyss 'neath Death's dark stile—
Praised be the Light that shines again
With Peace on earth, Good Will to men.*

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October 22, 1938

Conscription: The Alternative

FOR every voice that cried in the wilderness of complacency for "national service" and conscription at the beginning of this year, there may be heard a dozen today. Where the one voice was almost invariably from the Right wing of our political stage, today we find that the voices come from what we must call Right, Centre, and Left—though those terms are already beginning to lose their meaning in most cases. (True, some declare that "national service" and faster rearmament must be allied to a new foreign policy; but the realist will judge of the peacefulness of any policy by the arms it requires; by that standard there is not much to choose between the alternatives that are commonly placed before us.) A new slump in trade, with mounting unemployment, seems likely, before very long, to invest "national service" with further attractiveness for some of its protagonists.

Now that the issue of "national service" is the subject of popular debate, and is likely within the next few weeks to become the subject of Parliamentary debate, too—it is becoming ominously clear that what is proposed is nothing less than the introduction of fascism into Britain.

SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES, in *The Times* last week, outlined a way in which it should be possible to ensure that in an emergency the mobilization of the population for total war could be done without chaos...

Action on the lines he suggested would mean, he claimed, that "if compulsion comes the machine will be ready." That machine, let there be no mistake, will be a prototype of the machines built up by the totalitarian States.

In other words, having mercifully been spared the necessity of destroying democracy at home during an attempt to defend it in Czechoslovakia, we shall be asked to use the present respite to rid ourselves of it lest it encumber us in an intensification of the arms race.

A national register, "industrial mobilization"—these are the steps that are to lead to conscription of men's bodies; and, since men have minds too, there are moves toward censorship of the means of influencing public opinion.

These last are the most significant: they mean that those who wish to prepare for total war know that the will to peace is still strong in the land. And it is to this will to peace that the friends of peace must appeal in the months that lie ahead, showing the issue to be total peace versus total war. The united front of those who clamour for a national register and for more bombers, more guns, and (consequently) more ARP may be noisy but it does not represent the common people; they have just stared war in the face and found it fearsome.

They must now be awakened to the fact that "national service" is a fake; that the term is used to harness idealism to the chariot of war; and that if it were presented as a form of regimentation, similar to that which they abhor in totalitarian States, they would reject it.

They must be shown that if they acquiesce in this regimentation they will be cogs in the machine; and the machine's only function will be to make war.

There is, however, the likelihood that they would resign themselves to such a

The evacuation of the child population of London was actually begun before the signing of the Four Power Pact. Schools were closed, and thousands of children carrying toys and gas masks were taken to unknown destinations.

★

MANY of us must have recalled, during the past war-shadowed days, a poem familiar in our schooldays. It was a haunting poem of a magical Piper who drew all the children out of the city.

The Piper did so in a spirit of revenge because the Mayor of Hamelin did not honour his debt for ridding the city of a plague of rats.

The pathos of that childless city, bereft of its boys and girls who followed the gaily dressed Piper, made poignant reading even for the young.

The Pied Piper of War spirited our boys and girls away from the East End of London during the recent crisis. On the Monday, I found a mother crying, "I don't know whether to sign for the children to go away or not," she told me.

She had five at school. "The neighbours say it is cruel not to let them go," she continued, "and the children think it is a holiday, but the winter is coming on."

Her tears flowed afresh. "My neighbour is a Jewess—a widow—," she added, "and she has signed for her four to go away. Now she won't go to bed. Instead she leans out of the window all night, talking, talking."

I pictured the empty home of the Jewish widow and her unspeakable loneliness without her children, intensified because of her race. Housed in the East End of London, among many of her kin, she was still far from her homeland.

On the Tuesday, the first mother came again. "I've signed for four of them to go," she said, "But" (vehemently), "not for the youngest!"

Her thin lips tightened, and one realized that nothing would make her change her mind. That emphasis she put on keeping the youngest near her in time of danger, while she had agreed to let the others go away for safety, was strangely pathetic in its inconsistency, but adamant in its conviction.

★

WEDNESDAY dawned, and the faces of men and women in the London streets, in the tubes, and in the buses, revealed the dread fear of war in their hearts. The hour for the mother to be at her work came and went, but she did not come.

Later an older daughter brought a message that her mother could not come until the afternoon because "the children had gone away." The older girl was quiet, white-faced, and sad.

The afternoon wore on, and still the mother did not come. I did not ask why. I knew that somewhere near in an East End tenement house, close to the Tower and the London docks, Rachel was crying for her children.

(Continued from col. 1)

prospect if no alternative was offered. Consequently, they must be also shown that there is a constructive alternative: that it calls, not for rearmament, but disarmament; and that, though it calls no less for services and sacrifices, they are of a different order from those demanded by the war machine.

What the alternative involves in terms of practical politics was shown at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group's convention at Derby last weekend—a report of which we print on another page. That it is an alternative—the only alternative—to a policy of reproducing at home that very fascism which we abhor abroad, it is the responsibility of the pacifist movement to show in the critical days that lie ahead.

The Pied Piper of War

The hours wore on. Such strange, silent, heavy hours. The East End streets, usually so alive with shrill shouts and merry games, were as though shrouded by a pall. An unnatural atmosphere and a dread hung over them. Our children had been spirited away by the Pied Piper of War!

It was a calamity we had never experienced before. "Where had they gone?" That was the uppermost question. "It will be five days before they can write, and before we shall know," answered the mothers.

I thought of a merry little group I had found a few days before in the entrance to a public house. They were singing loudly, enjoying their community effort. They were such a quaint, incongruous little band seated in the tiled porch, that I could not refrain from asking them why they were there.

"We've just come home from hopping," said a bright-eyed little lad of nine years. "Where do you live?" was my next question. They all pointed to the back of public house. "Just over there," the young spokesman gaily replied, and then they all took up their songs again.

The proprietor came out. He jerked his thumb indoors. "Their parents are inside. Just come home from hopping," he explained. "I hope they are kind to their children," I ventured, "Oh yes," he said with conviction. "They are kind to them!"

★

LONG into the night of the fateful day when the children were spirited away by the Pied Piper of War, those merry, childish songs re-echoed in my ears.

"We must not sing when we go away on the chara," eight-years old John had said, "because this is very sad!" "But the soldiers in the Great War sang Tipperary, and Pack up your Troubles in your old kit-bag, and Smile, Smile, Smile, I reminded him.

John's face was grave. He did not remember the Great War, and strangely enough his bewilderment reminded me of another child who years before had been bewildered because he had never known a world at peace.

The twenty years old memory was just of a little nursery quarrel between a few children because one had described the sugared cakes we knew before the War. The youngest child born in 1914 had protested earnestly and tearfully that such things could never have been, till mother had settled the quarrel by gathering up in her arms the child who could not remember a world in which there was no war!

The incident flashed vividly across my mind when John looked so puzzled about the singing. The memory of it was as vivid as were the powerful searchlights which lit up the drab, stark emptiness of our childless East End London streets during those tense days of crisis.

★

THE Jewish population were panic stricken. Many men and women refused to go to bed during that dark war-shadowed week. They stood outside all night on the pavements discussing the horrors which they felt might descend on them so soon.

There was the German girl in our street who went to church every morning to pray for peace, and who cried most of the day for the safety of her parents and her brother in Germany.

There was the final delivery of our 200,000 white peace poppies, so many that they were stacked high up to the front door of the Women's Cooperative Guild office, and the typical despair of the delivery man as he flung down the last box with the words, "I don't know what good these are! We shall all be in pieces in a day or two, never mind, peace."

Toward the end of that week of tension, when the crisis had abated, some of our



By
ROSE SIMPSON
(General Secretary, Women's
Cooperative Guild)

children came home again, some robbed, they thought, of a holiday jaunt.

But little Mary, with the shrewd and actual knowledge of contact with daily poverty, which characterizes the East End child, however young, said immediately she entered the house, "Oh, mother; you've wasted thirteen shillings on my long, black stockings and Wellington boots."

But the mother's eyes shone. This time Mary was bewildered. Her mother had laid out precious money for unnecessary garments, yet she was smiling and happy. "Our Mary always was thoughtful," said the mother, as she began to pour out cups of weak tea with a briskness she had not shown for a week.

"I'll get over that, Mary," she said, handing a cup to the child. "You can wear the new stockings and Wellingtons for school this winter, and I don't mind about the money so long as there's peace, and I've got you home again."

Mary drank the tea, wide-eyed and serious. The acute arithmetic problem still exercised her childish mind. "And I'll go on paying my 2s. into the Christmas Club as well, Mary," said her mother, "because (as she kissed her), she added, "Now we shall have a Christmas after all."

★

THE Pied Piper of War who spirited away our children so suddenly in those days of international crisis may have other demands to make upon us. That is what every woman should realize in her heart today.

Every woman should try to understand the true meaning of real peace, and work to achieve it through that knowledge, so that the Pied Piper of War is never allowed to come again into our midst.

PATRIOTISM

Not wreathed column, nor streaming flag,
Nor blare of trumpet in the street,
Nor thrill of song, nor beat of drum,
Nor march of heavy conquering feet;
But holy fire within the breast
That burns as a consuming flame,
More real than life, more strong than death,
More deep than pride of birth or fame;
Not dying for the land beloved
'Neath shrapnel fire in rotting trench,
Nor gasping out the laboured breath
In poison gas and sickening stench;
But living hourly to achieve
A lasting peace through the slow years,
A heritage of good and right
Not bought by brothers' blood and tears.

A. G. GUTHRIE

FASCISM CAN HAPPEN HERE

Danger Behind "Voluntary" Service Plans

PACIFIST CONVENTION SHOWS ALTERNATIVE

By a "PEACE NEWS" Reporter.

REFERRING, at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group's convention at Derby on Saturday, to the latest development of the demand for greater armament, Mr. George Lansbury, MP, said that although it was proposed to be on a voluntary basis, young men and women would need tremendous courage and great faith to stand out and say to their employers, "We cannot have anything to do with this thing."

If we were all to be ticketed and docked, if everything that could be known about us was to be known, and we were to be told what would be our place and who would give us our orders in certain circumstances, he did not see that that was very different from the totalitarian state.

Mr. Eden talked about national planning; but it was international planning that was needed.

PLIGHT OF BALKANS

Mr. Lansbury said he had seen the rulers of the Balkan countries, and all were convinced that you could not leave the trade of such countries to what was called "the free play of competition." They were all agreed that the plight of their countries was due to the big Powers: they felt forced to arm because they were surrounded by countries which were quarrelling as to which of them should have the trade of those countries.

The proposition of the world conference at which economic and territorial grievances might be examined, discussed, and settled was a first step to enabling those countries to get justice for themselves and peace for the world.

Mr. Lansbury moved a resolution calling for such a conference and declaring in favour of the organization of the world's supply and exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs on the basis of the rights and needs of all peoples, in place of the present trade restrictions.

NEW ECONOMIC LIFE

Seconding, Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence asked: "What would colonies matter, what would frontiers matter, if everybody had the material needs of life?"

It was scarcity that made people afraid. But there was no need for it: the resources of the world could now be organized so that every one could have all he needed. Yet an artificial scarcity was being created by the deliberate destruction of food and other goods.

Their task, she concluded, was to build up an entirely new economic life founded upon the fact that there was abundance in the world for all if the forces we have could be trained for the development of the world and the means of distribution could be used so as to put the people into such a condition that the question of war would not arise.

In support of the resolution, Mr. I. E. Ibbotson pointed out that Hitler was not the cause of all our troubles but the effect of a previous cause. He traced the effect on Germany of the post-war policies of the Allies, particularly France's occupation of the Ruhr Valley and our own Ottawa agreements, which, together with the economic policy of the United States and France, had produced, as a reaction, Germany's policy of self-sufficiency.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE CRISIS AND AFTER

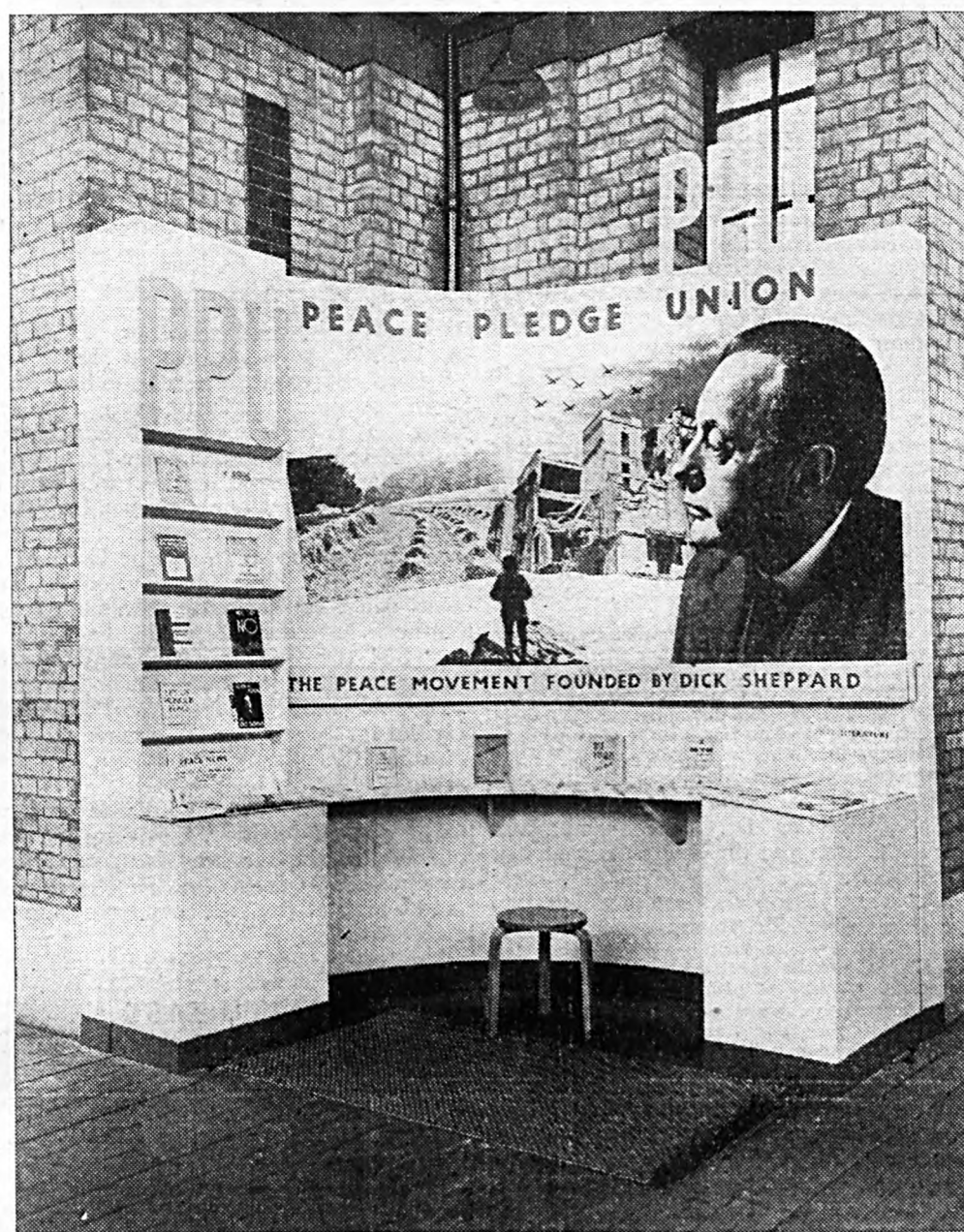
Mr. Douglas J. J. Owen moved from the chair, and Mr. Lansbury seconded, a special resolution which

Appreciated the sincere efforts of the Prime Minister and others to avert immediate war; Strongly opposed any intensification of the race in armaments and proposals made by certain leaders for industrial and military conscription;

Declared that "peace will only be secured when nations are willing to cooperate in sharing the resources and markets of the world";

Wholeheartedly supported the proposals for a world conference of all nations to secure economic cooperation and the removal of territorial and other grievances; and Called upon the Government to give a lead to the world such as will ensure immediate action.

"It's utterly impossible in these days"



North London groups of the Peace Pledge Union are cooperating in the running of this stall at the North London Exhibition, Alexandra Palace. The exhibition will close next Saturday. The stand will afterward be available for hire by PPU groups for similar exhibitions. Application should be made to Mr. E. Gordon Turner, Hornsey Regional Secretary, 6 Palace Court Gardens, London, N.10.

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CONCERT PLANS

DETAILS are announced of the Peace Pledge Union's Memorial Concert to Dick Sheppard to be held in Queens Hall, London, on Monday week (October 31).

The London Symphony Orchestra has been engaged, and will be conducted by Basil Cameron. The concert will start at 8 p.m. and the programme will be:

Overture ... LENOX BERKELEY
Madrigals ... MONTEVERDI, arr. MALPIERO
Jeu de Cartes ... STRAVINSKY
Interval
Symphony No. 3 (Eroica) ... BEETHOVEN

Admission, for PPU members and their friends, will be by free tickets, obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. Application should be made as soon as possible for as many tickets as can be used—but not more. Envelopes

(Continued from col. 1)

said Mr. Lansbury, "that one nation can live alone. Hitler knows that as well as I do, else why does he send his emissaries into the Balkans to stimulate trade there?"

NEW METHOD

Nor could the British Empire live by itself. Moreover, we had learnt that we could not control subject peoples by ourselves. There was not a statesman in Britain today who did not realize that, "in the near future," Indians would be governed by Indians.

However the problem of Palestine was going to be solved, it was not going to be solved by this country saying that here was an area that must only be controlled by us. We had got to share, and he asked them to face things as they really were. The resolution was carried unanimously.

A resolution calling for the removal of all preparations and commitments of a military character and pledging support of those who conscientiously object to taking part in war was moved by Mr. Victor Yates, Labour candidate for the Ladywood division of Birmingham, seconded by Mr. William E. Minty, and carried.

should be marked "Memorial Concert." Tickets will be numbered and reserved, but admission cannot be guaranteed after 7.45 p.m., at which time the public will be admitted free to any seats still unoccupied.

A collection will be taken at the end of the concert.

The concert is the outcome of much consideration. It was felt that a mere succession of speeches would be inadequate for the occasion, and that the best arrangement would be to start with a short speech, followed by an orchestral concert.

Posters and handbills announcing the concert will be available from PPU headquarters early next week.

STAND BY PACIFIST M.P.

A challenge by Mr. Andrew MacLaren, MP, that,

given private monopoly of land, an extension of men's domination over other people's land, and protection, war is inevitable, and that the League of Nations is bound to be a thing built upon sand,

caused lively scenes at a Labour meeting in Burslem.

The chairman said there must be no challenge at the meeting and asked Mr. MacLaren to remember that he was a guest of the Stoke-on-Trent Central Labour Party and the Burslem Cooperative Party.

Mr. MacLaren replied that it was news to him that he was a guest in his own constituency.

After this retort, he left the hall followed by a large proportion of the audience of 2,000 and an impromptu meeting was held in the open.

Mr. MacLaren is a member of the Parliamentary Pacifist Group and was one of the signatories of the manifesto sent to MP's reported on page 15

BEN GREENE

will write again next week on how to extend the power of "Peace News"

Gas Masks Galore —But No Gas Danger

HAVE THEY ANOTHER PURPOSE?

JUST how much the Government's ARP measures are intended to protect people, and not, as their critics suggest, merely to lull them into a false feeling of security and quiet acquiescence in a war policy, must, one supposes (writes a correspondent) be largely a matter for conjecture to those not "in the know." but the following incident throws a revealing light on the official mentality regarding ARP.

Chief plank in emergency measures taken at Newark (Nottinghamshire) at the height of the crisis, was the hurried distribution to a wondering, if worried, public, of 30,000 respirators.

True, the Town Council decided that a few "specimen trenches" should also be dug, and asked the Chief Constable to "make a survey of protected accommodation in the Borough and report"—but, gas masks for all was undoubtedly to be the population's chief means of salvation.

Family supplies of respirators were accordingly laid up in each home, due regard being paid to the following request:

When people receive their gas masks they are asked to take great care of them, put them in a place of safety and not allow children to play with them. The construction is fragile, and the mask must be handled with care—otherwise, it may be rendered useless.

Now, the more thoughtful citizens are puzzling their brains to discover against just what their carefully stored masks might have been rendered useless, for, a few days after the tumult and the shouting had died, came this (literal) bombshell: Lieut.-Commander E. D. L. Brown, ARP Officer for Newark and District, lecturing to local engineers, gave it as his opinion that the use of gas against the civilian population would be most unlikely, "not for any humanitarian reasons, but because it could not possibly be so effective as high-explosive or incendiary bombs."

PROFITEERS LIKED IT

The grave deficiencies in ARP plans, as revealed by the crisis, provided a splendid opportunity for the profiteers.

One of many examples of profiteering came from Plymouth. The Lord Mayor there has stated that the local ARP committee required 300,000 sandbags and that within a month the price jumped from 1½d. to 10d. each.

SUPPORT FROM SCOTLAND

Many churches have already turned down the Home Office's ARP scheme despite official claims to the contrary.

A message signed by leaders of the Scottish churches, however, commends the Government's appeal for ARP volunteers. "EVEN BETTER PREPARED"

Lord Baden-Powell, writing in *The Times* on Saturday on Scouts' participation in ARP, declared that "steps are being taken to ensure that Scouts are even better prepared to render assistance in any future emergency."

RECTORIAL FUND CONTRIBUTIONS

The following further subscriptions to the Glasgow Rectorial Fund are acknowledged by Mr. Frank B. Middleton, of the Peace Pledge Union bringing the total to October 17 to £104 9s. 9d.

D. Bell, 10s.; R. C. Luter, Middx., 10s.; K. Cobb, Sussex, 10s.; G. Ingham, Lancs., £1; Anon, 6d.; H. Palmer, Abbotts Langley, 2s. 6d.; T. Abbott, Nottingham, £1 1s.; F.T.B., London, S.E., 10s.; Misses Cole, Northants, 4s. 6d.; T. Finnigan, Magee Un. Coll., 10s.; M. Kenyon, N.W.1, 2s. 6d.; R. Mallone, London, S.E.14, £1; W. Bennett, Winchester, 10s.; E. Case, Hants, 5s.; J. G. Roberts, Cornwall, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Ashmore, Manchester, 2s. 6d.; M. Walker, York, 10s.; Anon, 1s.; Anon, London, S.W.17, £1; Miss L. Jones, Worcs., 2s. 6d.; Anon, 1s. 6d.; M.H. and M.C., Kingston, Surrey, £1; H. Ward, Clacton-on-Sea, 5s.; F. Dash, London, N.17, 5s.; Broughton and Hants Group, 5s.; G.A., 2s. 6d.; E. Long, London, W.2, 10s.; D. Lane, London, N.5, 10s.; W. Dunsmore, Wansstead, 5s.; E. Alexander, 5s.; M. Gale, Peterborough, 2s. 6d.; J.G.H., 5s.; A. Pacis, 7s. 6d.; West Bowling Group, 5s.; O. Bickley, London, W.1, 5s.; C. J. Oaten, Oxford, 2s. 6d.; J. H. Leggett, Bucks, 4s.; E. Clark, London, S.W.1; 5s.; B. Garbett, Harborne, 5s.; J. Bayley, Surrey, 5s.; H.T.A., Bournemouth, 2s.; O. Tavener, Winchester, £1; Anon, London, E.C., 5s.; Miss L. Davis, Dorking, £1 1s.; Anon, Chesh., Surrey, 2s. 6d.; L. Harris, Dorking, 10s.; F.C., Kingston, Surrey, £2; C. Teape, (Rev.), Bournemouth, 2s. 6d.; M. Lee, Hemel Hempstead, 10s.; T. House, Suffolk, 5s.; W. Hassam, Leicester, 10s.; F. Stevens, Hove, 5s.; P.P.U. Member, Willesden, 2s. 6d.; J. Summers, Edinburgh, 2s. 6d.; R. F. Matchett, Devon, 10s.

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

HOME COUNTIES

Clacton

PRESIDING over a meeting at Clacton on Thursday of last week, Mr. Horace Brown said they ought to learn how they could marshal and materialize the passionate desire for peace which was in the heart of the ordinary people of the whole earth, especially those who lived in Europe, and particularly in the heart of those who resided in Germany—probably the most important problem of all peace problems was how to get the people in that land to vocalize their longing for this desirable thing.

Miss A. Ruth Fry said that during the respite after the crisis they must learn more

earnestly than ever before to repent, and reform. First of all they must help the people of Czechoslovakia—"cheques for the Czechs" should be their motto—and to realize that the fault in the world today was not only to be found in the totalitarian States.

Mr. W. H. Corbett, of London, said he did not condemn Chamberlain about the path he took. Any man in his position would have done as he did. They had been given a breathing space. It was only being used for rearmament. They had not got peace—only war delayed. As they had rearmament for war, they should certainly rearm for peace by friendly methods.

Horsham

The following letter has been sent to President Roosevelt by the Horsham group, signed by all its members, and it has been suggested that every group in England does the same:—

We, the undersigned English citizens, wish to express to you our great admiration and appreciation of your messages to European statesmen during the recent crisis. In particular we approve of your suggestion of an international conference to discuss and settle grievances.

We urge you to use the immense influence of your position to call together the nations in such a conference, since we feel that you are in a stronger position to do so than any other living man. We, on our part, will do what we can to urge our own government to accept the invitation when you send it.

Richmond

About 150 people attended a recent meeting addressed by Dr. Alex Wood, Miss Sybil Morrison and the Rev. E. B. Roebuck (chairman).

Speaking of the crisis through which they had just passed, Mr. Roebuck said:—

If it had not been for those who championed peace movements and those in high places who thought the way of peace should be secured at all costs, we might have been in the soup. The crisis has taught us to be realists. No amount of force will weld the peoples of this earth together as long as the root causes of disharmony remain.

Miss Morrison said that she had seen hundreds of thousands of men and women crowding to help with ARP and military activities, and she wondered what they would have been doing if they had spent the energy of the last twenty years in working for peace.

The suggested world conference, she said, was a great thing to the PPU. Other world conferences had failed, but that was because nations were not willing to make sacrifices.

Dr. Alex Wood pointed out that they could not kill militarism by killing militarists, just as they could not kill nazism by killing nazis. It was a spiritual thing.

Hitler was our creation. Nazism had been created by Versailles and the blindness of Britain and the French. We could not excuse Hitler, but we could explain him.

Watford

Among the forthcoming events organized by the Watford group are a meeting for women on October 26, which will be held in the Friends' Meeting House at 8 p.m., and an open meeting on November 9, to be addressed by Willi Solzbacher, an exiled German Pastor.

Joint meetings with Bushey and Oxley Youth Group and the LUN will be held on October 25 and November 24 at the Rose Tea Gardens, Watford Heath.

LONDON

Ealing

MEMBERS of the Ealing group canvassed all signatories in the district recently, inviting them to a social which was held last Saturday in the Congregational Church Hall, Ealing Green. Mr. James Avery Joyce spoke on "Europe in the Melting Pot."

Today the group is holding the first of a series of group meetings to study Richard Gregg's book *The Power of Non-Violence*.

MIDLANDS

Cotteridge and Stirchley

THIS group recently held a peace shop in Stirchley. The shop was open daily from 2.30 p.m. to 10 p.m. for the sale of books, pamphlets, and *Peace News*, and the distribution of free literature. About 7,000 leaflets and eighty copies of *Peace News* were given away.

A large window was made to look attractive and arresting, and the whole shop was arranged in the PPU colours.

All helpers were kept busy and to many the experience was unique. They had a number of interesting discussions with visitors and twelve pledge cards were signed.

East Midlands Area Committee

A meeting of the committee was held in Leicester on October 8. It was felt that the main work of the committee was to keep the regions in touch with one another, and to give the sense of belonging to a great movement.

A need for a visit of the film and publicity van was mentioned for the groups in Northampton, Kettering, Wellingborough, and Rushden, and also in Nottingham.

Everyone was in sympathy with the idea of holding a national celebration for peace. The date, September 30, was suggested to commemorate the release of tension after the Anglo-German Pact was signed.

The next committee meeting will be held in Leicester on January 14, and it hoped that all groups in the East Midlands Area will send representatives.

NORTH

Harrogate

A LARGE gathering met in the Crown Hotel, Harrogate, recently, to hear Miss Naomi Jacob, the well-known novelist, speak on "The Immediate Necessity for Furthering International Peace."

Miss Jacob referred to the cruel and vindictive peace terms imposed upon Germany by "the old man of Versailles." "I am not at all prejudiced in favour of Germany," she said, "as I have Jewish blood in my veins, and I am naturally indignant at all that nazis have done to Jews."

"But the wrongs sown at Versailles were bound to produce a bitter harvest." The war that was fought to "save the world for democracy" had made possible instead the growth of arrogant dictatorship.

Miss Jacob said she found that in England there was a tendency to discount the grievances of the Sudeten Germans. "I have lived nearer to them than you," she said, "and I can tell you that they have suffered intolerable wrongs."

A collection for the PPU realized £18.

NORTH-EAST

Hull

A PEACE MEETING, organized by the Hull group, was well attended in the Queen's Hall, on October 7.

The speakers, Dr. Maude Royden and Mr. Laurence Housman, both stressed the increasing need for an international conference at which all nations should be represented to present the grievances of their countries, and in this way, eliminate the causes of war.

Mr. Housman said:

It was we who produced Hitler by our statesmen. They are beginning to admit openly that the Treaty of Versailles was an injustice, and that from that time of unjust peace, our politicians have committed blunder after blunder.

He also stated that the means by which Mr. Chamberlain obtained peace, were those which the "pacifist dreamers" had been advocating for years.

Dr. Royden said that, after sacrificing the lives of eight million in the last war, we owe to all now living that we should make another war an impossibility.

She said that we, who had blundered in 1919 by creating the State of Czechoslovakia, should insist that Czechoslovakia should not be the only one to make sacrifices; and that this recent peace could not be called a real peace, but that it was a beginning toward the ideal of an international conference.

Sunderland

The Sunderland branch is flourishing; much useful work is being done, there are increased attendances at the fortnightly meetings, and the roll of members is growing.

During the year mass meetings have been held when the largest hall in the town has been filled to overflowing to hear addresses by Canon Stuart Morris, Dr. Donald Soper, Mr. Wilfred Wellock, Mr. Roy Walker, and Miss Ruth Fry.

Other activities have included a visit from the PPU touring van, and open-air meetings in the surrounding densely populated districts during the summer months. Speakers from the group have been sent to churches, YMCA, and social settlements wherever and whenever possible.

Talks and debates at regular meetings have proved most practical, and invaluable in their campaign against war and its attendant horrors. In the group are a number of schoolboys who, on the threshold of military age are vital champions of non-violence.

A proposal by two of these boys to hold a peace week in Sunderland was immediately accepted and plans have been made to hold this the first week in January, 1939.

It is intended to hire an empty shop in a central position in the town and here to hold an exhibition showing the ghastliness of war and the beauty of peace.

In the room behind the shop it is proposed to have discussion groups and tea time talks. The week will terminate with a public production of a peace play written by Mr. William Davey, who is a member of the group.

ARMISTICE WEEK

TO enable us to meet the heavy demand for copies, will groups please order supplies for Armistice meetings as soon as possible.

To ensure delivery of copies, orders must be received by the Tuesday before the date of issue.

Groups undertaking the sale of *Peace News* for the first time should write to us for specially prepared hints.

Suggestions or loans of exhibits from other groups will be welcomed. Any information should be sent to the press Secretary, PPU rooms, 12 Picardy Place, North Roker, Sunderland.

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh

THE Edinburgh group has opened a Peace Room at 12 Picardy Place and all signatories in the district are invited to cooperate in an intensive campaign for pacifism.

The group is in close contact with the Church of Scotland Peace Society and it is hoped to establish a library of pacifist and relevant literature for common use in the peace room and to have other corporate activities.

Meanwhile in addition to the weekly meeting on Thursdays the following groups are being organized alternate Mondays—Fellowship group; Tuesdays—Economics group; Wednesdays—Propaganda group; Fridays—Community group.

All inquiries should be addressed to the Secretary, PPU Rooms, 12 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

SOUTH

Fernhurst and Liphook

WITHIN three hours on Thursday last week two groups were formed in villages near Haslemere. Public meetings at Fernhurst and Liphook were addressed by Roy Walker and afterward groups were formed. Group leader for Fernhurst is Miss S. Smith, The Post Office, Fernhurst, and for Liphook, Mr. Brooker, The Square, Liphook.

Four Marks

Members here have been discussing the subject of ARP recently, and feel that while they cannot support the Government scheme because it does not fulfil its object, they believe that in an emergency they should be ready to do all in their power to relieve suffering; assist the disabled and all who need help; and prevent the destruction of property.

Any active preparation such as ARP, provide for is entirely out of the question, but privately organized readiness in the face of possible danger would be their policy. In this way they think that in normal times they would be assisting the progress of peace and in time of war would adequately live up to their name.

They are now wondering how far other pacifists and pacifist groups agree with the idea, and they would be interested to hear their views. The secretary is C. Waller, "Long acre," Blackberry Lane, Four Marks, near Alton, Hants.

WALES

Cardiff

A POSTER parade was held in Cardiff on October 8. Five dozen *Peace News* were sold and several thousand leaflets were distributed.

The parade lasted over an hour and several miles were covered despite gale and rain.

A public meeting was held in the Friends' Meeting House last Saturday when the speaker was Mr. R. Bishop, of Dolgelly, with the Rev. Caulnydd Jones, of Whitechurch, in the chair.

Learn About The W.R.I.

Many PPU groups have expressed the desire to be better informed as to the kind of work the WRI is doing. In response, a group of speakers has been enlisted, competent to give group meetings some account of the International's work. Applications should be made to Mr. Sydney P. Larcombe, 6 Cavendish Avenue, Sevenoaks, Kent, or to the headquarters of the WRI, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

The speakers are not desirous of addressing public meetings on world affairs and pacifism in general, but to give informative talks to groups of our own people who are really interested.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

IT is perilously easy to let thanks fall short of appeals. In the hope of clearing some past debts and one or two glaring omissions I propose to devote this article mainly to acknowledgment of the gifts and help we continue to receive.

Not a few parcels of clothing and toys come which we cannot acknowledge personally because they bear no clue as to their source, or sometimes only the unreliable clue of an old address on the inside of the wrapper. I hope our present thanks will meet these cases, and, in some measure one or two others not so easily excused.

It is a pity that donors can so seldom see the pleasure and excitement which the opening of their parcels causes. If the parcel is a large one with new clothes or many toys, the news spreads through the whole community and can interrupt all other activity for a short time.

Otto, Master of the Shoes, usually raids the parcels first, collecting, almost tenderly, all the shoes they may contain which he sorts, stores, repairs, and issues, as the case may require.

Then comes Señorita Celia, unfolding on the office table an imposing and ingenious list by means of which she can see at a glance what clothes each child possesses. Children who are lacking are sent for and the trying on begins.

As for the amusing little toys which fall out of the garments as they are unpacked it is sometimes hard to know who enjoys them most, the children or the staff who unpack them.

A very welcome parcel of new Spanish books came the other day and toys in various quantities continue to arrive. All these things are welcome in satisfaction of a need which is permanent.

We have also had much success in appeals for special things. In response to our appeal for a camera some time ago we immediately received a very useful machine whose only snag was the expense of running it, a handicap which we shall be able to overcome, I think, by one or two simple mechanical adjustments.

With its origin completely shrouded in mystery a brand new bicycle for the small boys turned up the other day. This caused much excitement, and the warden had difficulty in repudiating the credit for it.

As he was completely innocent of it a letter from the dealer which came the next day thanking him for the purchase, was even more bewildering. We extend our very heartiest thanks to the real donor.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

Urgent Need of

BASQUE CHILDREN

At this time of year many women are overhauling and restocking their linen cupboards.

At Langham the cupboards have been overhauled but they have not been restocked. They are desperately short of sheets and pillowcases. Can you possibly help them?

Have you a spare sheet or pillowcase you could send them? Or can you afford to buy them any?

If you can help will you send them without delay to Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex.

It's only a rumour—No. 2



That the Archbishop of Canterbury, having confessed (on October 4) that "power politics are an essential contradiction of Christianity," has decided to leave the Church, and devote the whole of his time to preparation for war, which he says "must be carried through and supported."

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

SOME of our legislators deserve prizes for the ease with which they can hide what they mean. Others don't even seem to know what they mean. A well-known MP said the other day:

It seems to me that we need a greater acceleration of production and the mobilization of industry, as Lord Baldwin said, whatever that may mean.

He doesn't know what it is, but he wants it!

When it comes to clearness of expression, you have to hand it to the military, every time. Not much wooliness about these words of a lieutenant-general, writing (of course) in *The Times*:

Quite clearly, therefore, it behoves us in the next war to be the bombers and not the bombed.

SCIENCE MARCHES ON

Anticipating another of science's great discoveries, *Reynolds News* announces:

MAN AIDS WAR ON WAR

Experiments on human beings are giving valuable results in the war against war. The experiments proved that people are very susceptible to bombs.

Our italics, as they say, although in point of fact they don't belong either to me or to my Editor, but to the printer, who has kindly lent them.

REVOLUTION'S UGLY HEAD

The head of the Speaker's Department of the Conservative Central Office, who conducted his 500th class a few months ago, will, it is stated, shortly commence a new series.

The idea that Conservative Members of Parliament should be able to speak their own minds is steadily gaining ground.—*EVENING NEWS*.

ST. AUGUSTINE WAS WRONG

"If Englishmen had been angels, or even uncompromising Christians, I suppose they would, if they had fought any wars, have returned all the prizes of victory to the defeated enemy."

Professor Coupland made this observation, addressing the British Empire Summer School at Cambridge.

"But even British human nature is not God-like," said the Professor, who claimed that the wars out of which Great Britain had gained part of the Empire were wars of national defence.

So St. Augustine was wrong, after all, when he said (of certain Britons) that they were "not Angles, but Angels." He ought, of course, to have known that only Angles could be so obtuse.

From the Editorial Chair

During the absence of the Editor on holiday this feature is being written by the Acting Editor.

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

THE convention reported on page 9 was the eleventh held by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group since it was formed just over a year ago.

GEORGE LANSBURY said that it was one of the best they had had. The EDITOR, who was there, tells me that his own experience of a number of them certainly confirms this, although there have been better attendances at some of them.

It is true that most of the larger attendances have been at larger towns, but on the other hand there were contingents from places as far away as Nottingham, Leicester, and Birmingham.

"I fancy," writes the EDITOR, "that GEORGE LANSBURY's remark partly reflected the feeling in him that he himself had induced in us, the audience. For it was much less like a public meeting with prepared speeches punctuated by approving applause than like a fireside talk, with George telling us of his great experience and we listening, not docilely but rapt, with an occasional query showing we were anxious to learn the answers to our problems that that experience could give us."

The Parliamentary Pacifist Group includes members in both Houses of Parliament, as well as former MPs, Parliamentary candidates and others. They all accept the first and fundamental resolution, adopted at a national pacifist convention held on September 18 last year, declaring that war "can never be justified whether conducted by a section of a nation, by a nation as a whole, by an alliance of nations or by the League of Nations," and that "it is the right of every citizen to renounce all participation in and preparation for war."

The next convention will take place in Leeds today (Saturday), to be followed by one in Carlisle next Saturday, and another in Cambridge on November 26.

Three are already planned for the New Year—in Liverpool, Cardiff, and Newcastle-on-Tyne.

"Thinking About It"

FROM a cutting sent me by a West Kirby reader I see that the writer of the "London Letter," a regular feature in the *Liverpool Daily Post*, has been giving the Peace Pledge Union some welcome publicity.

He recorded the other day that one effect of the crisis he found among friends and acquaintances was "an accession—or, at any rate, a theoretical accession—to the pacifist point of view," and went on to mention the large number of people who joined the PPU during the crisis.

But I think he credits pacifists with more power in the land than they possess at the moment when he writes:

It is added that the pacifists are thinking of getting up a world conference to discuss "economic and other injustices."

On the other hand, if it were in our hands to "get up" such a conference, I feel it would have passed the stage of merely being thought about.

Not Quite the Same

ANOTHER provincial paper, the *Evening Chronicle*, of Newcastle, had a cartoon last week that might easily have been a free advertisement for *Peace News*.

Entitled "Aftermath," it portrayed a housewife stocking her larder with dozens of tins of food in preparation for the "emergency": enter the husband holding a paper with the heading *Peace News*.

Housewife: "... and now I suppose we must eat tinned salmon for the next eighteen months."

But I am afraid *Peace News* was only a heading, and not the title, so we can hardly call it another "Peradventure of *Peace News*."

The Other View

IN contrast to the letters, to which I referred last week, concerning No. 7 in the "Peradventures of *Peace News*," are two letters received by Mr. BRISCOE himself, expressing pleasure and appreciation of the picture of the "lady" buying *Peace News* and the cartoon of John Bull.

Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 10



"Henry, hold your peace!"

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.



See below

Gerald Heard

BEFORE quoting, as I promised last week, Miss PEGGY SMITH's account of the lectures given by GERALD HEARD which she attended in the USA, I should explain that the lectures were given at a summer school at Pendle Hill, the Society of Friends' centre near Philadelphia.

The lectures, a course of twelve, were entitled "The Sense of Spirit—an Inquiry into the Growth of the Inner Light." PEGGY SMITH writes:

In addition to the fifty or more students, people came in from outside for his lectures, and he gave, besides, a public address one evening (which was crowded), a special talk on Christianity, led a daily group on meditation, was nearly always surrounded, in his spare time and at meals, by a little crowd of people questioning him or eagerly listening, and gave also many private interviews.

His personality and the things he said created a deep impression, and I think everyone was re-awakened, inspired, and helped by him.

After leaving Pendle Hill at the end of July he was to travel about seeing people in the East and Middle East before returning to California, where he probably now is. ALDOUS HUXLEY lives near him, and they work a good deal together, I understand. He told me he has no definite plans for the future.

What's in a Name?

THE following extract from a letter received by KENNETH LEE, of Kilburn, from a friend in a seaside town gives an idea of what some pacifists have to face.

I've been trying to cope with people who are convinced that we are all bolsheviks (— Bay recognizes no difference between communism, socialism, and the local Labour Party—all are rank revolutionaries); atheists (in which comprehensive term are included all who do not profess and call themselves Christians); or cranks (i.e., people like myself, who take an interest in politics without joining the Primrose League).

I like the subtle distinction between socialism and the local Labour Party.

Not What They Seem

YOU may, at first sight, wonder what has befallen the people shown in the picture above.

They are not, as you might suppose, victims of a road accident, nor are the two men standing at the back brigands from the Near East; actually they are all members of the PPU in Barnet, where one of the activities has been first aid training.

WILLIAM T. COOPER, chairman of the executive committee of the Barnet Groups, is on the left (with the bottle of Milton), on his left is his wife, DR. COOPER, who cooperated by giving instruction to the class. I am assured by ERIC RAWLINGS, who sends the picture, that the two "brigands" at the back are really "accident cases with head injuries."

The syllabus followed in the training was that prescribed by the St. John Ambulance Association, and the pupils intend to take the examination although they will not join the association.

The War Resister
is the quarterly news-sheet of the
WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL,
published in
English, French, German, and
Esperanto.
3d. per copy, 1s. 2d. per annum,
post free.
From W.R.I., 11 Abbey Road,
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WRITE FOR OTHER LITERATURE
AND INFORMATION OF THE WORK.

Group Notes

Getting Down To The Job

THE work has begun! The unifying effect of the crisis was amazingly efficient. It brought active and non-active together and in many cases the result was an increase both in the numbers and the output of the unit.

This has been maintained. It is now possible to plan on a wider basis and think in terms of national effort spread much more evenly than before.

What then are the jobs waiting to be tackled and how are groups preparing themselves?

In the first place a large number of groups—larger than ever before in our history—is meeting weekly and getting to close grips with local conditions. Propaganda, therefore, is more intense and personal, and is of a more permeating quality.

The demand for literature and pledge cards is rapidly increasing and reports indicate increased sales and contacts.

Secondly, there is a real getting together into regions and areas, so that the smaller and therefore weaker groups are receiving the benefit.

This coincides with the new system of speakers' fees, by which any group can get a national speaker for a flat rate of £1 per head (the price placed by our opponents on some of our speakers' heads, "dead or alive," is astronomical!).

With this increase in "meeting value" comes the reorganization of contacts with the wider public through more scientific street selling, poster parading and outdoor speaking by group members.

Thirdly, and more important than the other work now being undertaken, is the study and practise of our non-violent principles.

During the days of the crisis we at headquarters were besieged by hundreds of sincere people asking us to explain the methods of non-violence, and the result of patient and painstaking answers, together with the selling of suitable literature, often meant the winning over to our side of honest seekers for peace.

The pacifist movement is moving forward

at a greater speed and at the same time is leaving less ground untilled; it is also adding to itself a capacity for laying the seeds for permanent peacemaking at the same time.

Reports for "Peace News"

Will you please send all reports intended for publication in "News From the Four Corners" or other sections of *Peace News* direct to the Editor at 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1. I am asked to say that it is not possible to publish all reports or very lengthy ones.

May I remind you too that a report of some original piece of work done by your group is of far more general interest and gives far more help to other groups than a report which merely gives "the usual details."

Dick Sheppard Centres

Sometime ago I appealed for funds and furniture for Dick Sheppard Centres. The immediate result was most cheering. Furniture that was offered has all been claimed and sent, but still more is required.

Have you a chair you can spare? What about the bookshelf no longer used that is lying in the spare room? A sofa or small table suitable for a small reading room, we want it if you will give it.

Write in the first place to me and if you have not anything worth sending, a cheque or postal order will do!

Memorial Concert

Names are still wanted for the Queens' Hall. Volunteers will be required to act as stewards and for the collection, as well as for selling programmes. We shall need about fifty altogether and although names are coming in well, we must be sure of having enough.

Book Exhibition, November 4-21

The result of my first appeal has almost met the need, but it would be better to have a few more names to make the burden lighter for those who have taken long duties. Hours: 12 mid-day to 8.30 p.m., except Wednesdays and Saturdays and the last Monday, when the time is extended to 9.30 p.m.

By John Barclay

The Notice Board

Meetings

Edinburgh.—Every Thursday in PPU Room, 12 Picardy Place, at 8 p.m. Open-air meeting at The Mound every Sunday at 8 p.m. PPU Room open every evening except Saturday from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in King's Square, Barry.

Hull.—Open-air meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at West Park Gates.

Open-air meetings are now held on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

Charlton.—Open-air meetings at 3.30 p.m. every Sunday in Church Lane, Charlton Village, S.E.7.

Poster Parades

Southend.—Men are asked to send names for mass poster parade to John Long, 549 London Road, Westcliff. A hundred men wanted to show Southend the pacifist way. Further details later.

Volunteers required for parades and leaflet distribution to churches in West End on Sunday evenings. Persons who can help are asked to write to Reuben P. Dodd, 67 Richmond Road, E.8, stating how often they will be free.

Special parades will be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays, commencing November 1, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

Dorking.—Volunteers wanted for parades on October 29, leaving Cooperative Hall, South Street, at 5 p.m., 6 p.m., 7 p.m. and 8 p.m.

London members, reserve Saturday, November 12 for biggest poster parade ever.

Slough.—Volunteers required today. Meet at 3 p.m. at the Baptist Church, Windsor Road.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Watford.—At least thirty volunteers wanted today (Saturday). Meet at Gas Company Show-room between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m.

Edinburgh.—Apply at 12 Picardy Place every Saturday from 10 a.m.

Huddersfield.—Volunteers wanted on Saturday afternoons or evenings. Write Elizabeth Wilson, The Brown Owl, Woodfield Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield.

Sheffield.—Write to Geoffrey Pickup, 24 Stanley Road, Sheffield, 8.

Glasgow.—Every Saturday from 8 p.m., outside Regal. Write R. Speirs, 173 Thomson Street, Glasgow, 1.

Leeds.—Every Saturday afternoon. Also house-to-house selling at any convenient time. Write J. Michael Rosenblum, 4 Grange Terrace, Chapeltown, Leeds, 7.

Letchworth.—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley, 49 William Way, Letchworth.

Bexley Heath.—At Clock Tower every Friday at 7 p.m. Write to Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

Bristol.—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Blackheath.—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46 Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 23 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Tunbridge Wells.—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

Cardiff.—Meet on Fridays and Saturdays at Peace Stall, Central Market. Assistance also required to keep stall open on Thursdays, Fridays and Saturdays. Write Miss E. M. Bush, 15 Romilly Road, Canton, Cardiff.

Miscellaneous

Hull branch has become affiliated to the British Drama League. Any members who are interested in play reading and willing to help in this way should send their names to the Peace Centre, 64 Prospect Road, Hull.

Bridgend, Glamorgan.—Members in this district please communicate with Mr. Glyn Howe, Arosfa, St. Brides Major, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

A member writes on

Professional Groups

Margaret Crozier's letter on page 10 of *Peace News* of October 8, dealing with this subject seems to me to go too far.

By all means have professional groups, but let them be in addition to, not instead of, local groups.

Their functions would be limited, I think, in a way which is not true of local groups, but that useful work could be performed by them I do not doubt.

Work could be entrusted by headquarters for instance, to a group of legal workers, which could not possibly be entrusted to any local group.

The writers could give an invaluable service both to headquarters and local groups by editing new leaflets and pamphlets.

I feel that the function of professional groups would be primarily to provide a service to the pacifist movement and only secondarily to propagate pacifist ideas.

If it is considered a good idea I would like PPU headquarters to issue a request to group leaders to forward names and addresses and occupations of signatories interested in the idea and at the same time appeal for a few volunteers to attend at 96 Regent Street in the evening and deal with the correspondence which will ensue.

It would obviously be too much for the regular staff to cope with in addition to their already heavy duties.

A. F. CLARKE.

117 Hambalt Road, Clapham Park, S.W.4.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

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OCTOBER 22nd, 1938

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(Reprinted by request of many who were present)

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Dear Sir . . .

AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PACIFISTS

The Need

AS a pacifist I was indeed truly grateful to our wonderful Prime Minister for his untiring efforts for peace during the week of the crisis; for it seemed at last, as if the work of the pacifists was beginning to show fruit. But since that memorable week, I have been amazed at the talk of rearmament and the call for volunteers for ARP.

If we are all trying to think peace and show an example to other countries, why on earth do we need weapons of defence? It is like holding out the right hand of friendship to a former enemy and holding a revolver in the other hand, "just in case."

To my mind the ideal way of proving, that we, as a nation mean peace, would be to scrap every weapon of war we possess and every aeroplane, and make it a punishable offence for any arms to be manufactured in this country or to be sold to other countries. Also, of course, the manufacture of all poison gases would be similarly punished.

I believe if this were done, if we had the courage to set the example and so prove our sincerity, and faith in others, then other nations would follow our example.

It is the only sane attitude for peace, but unless one nation sets the example, it will be impossible ever to be wholly pacifist. Can't some such suggestion be put forward to the Government?

ELAINE CONINGSBY.

17 Church Lane, Merton Park, S.W.19.

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

I would like to submit two criticisms of an article by "M. S." in *Peace News* of September 17. In the first place, "M.S." suggests that the proposal to start discussion groups on non-violent resistance is delightful and dangerous nonsense. I cannot quite see how really necessary discussion on a subject such as non-violent resistance can be delightful and dangerous.

Surely those who wish to practise non-violent resistance ought to get a clear conception in their minds of the exact nature of it and how it should work; to think it not delightful or dangerous.

Non-violent resistance can never be the result of instinctive emotion, but it has to be the result of clear logical thinking, based on the study of its principles and practice by men such as Gandhi.

I quite agree that the way to perfect non-violent resistance is to practise it in all the branches of one's life, but I think it is necessary that one should think how to practice it.

The second criticism I wish to make is of "M. S.'s" assertion that the pacifist movement does not require leaders but active pacifists. I quite agree that it requires active pacifists but it also needs leaders to direct and unify those active pacifists.

I cannot imagine that India would have been successful in its policy of civil disobedience, in reply to unjust taxes imposed by the British Government, without the inspiration of Gandhi's leadership.

PHYLLIS CHAPMAN

151 Fishponds Road, Tooting, S.W.17.

To those pacifists who are familiar with Gregg's book and who have given thought and study to the technique outlined therein, I would put this very pertinent question: Of what use is such a technique against air attack?

As I see it, the use of non-violent resistance can only be effective when the violent opponent is actually face to face with the resister and the latter's moral power has the opportunity of producing the necessary effect on his attacker.

These conditions are never present in modern air bombardment. The airman is quite oblivious as to whether the people he is bombing are offering non-violent resistance, and with a State-controlled press, the fact that the "enemy" were not resisting would never reach their ears; they would take the absence of air attack on their own cities as evidence of the complete success of their own violent methods.

I am not suggesting that there are not occasions before, during and after, a modern war when non-violent resistance would be very effective, but I am anxious to know what sort of an answer one is to make to the question put above, as it has already been put by sincere non-pacifist friends to members of our group, without any really satisfactory result being obtained.

S. C. W. GILL

55 Pembury Avenue, Worcester Park, Surrey.

SONS OF CAIN

By an unfortunate error the Pacifist Research Bureau publication, *Why Were They Proud?*, has been advertised for two weeks in *Peace News* as "Why They Were Proud." Without being pedantic I may point out that the difference is material. The question was formulated by John Keats and related to the brothers of Isabella, but it is here applied to the Sons of Cain.

When Cain killed his brother it is written that a "mark" was set upon him. If an African legend may be credited, the first men were ebony coloured, but Cain for his sins was turned pink. Since then all his descendants bear the same stigma and have unfortunately inherited fratricidal tendencies. So why, indeed, were they proud?

REGINALD REYNOLDS

53 Cleveland Square, W.2.

The Method

ONE idea emerges clearly from the doubts and misunderstandings of the last weeks—the desire of the common people for peace.

It would seem clear that in spite of this desire the British Government, with the support of the opposition parties, intends to continue war preparations on a larger scale than ever before. The parliament of this "great democracy" will therefore be unrepresentative of the aspirations of the mass of the people, on the one issue that takes precedence over all others.

With six by-elections ensuing, now is the opportunity to record the peoples' will by nominating peace pledge candidates for these constituencies. Surely the money can be found to make this great test.

Victory now—with the crisis still fresh in the memories of all it is by no means impossible—and the Government will stay its hand.

Our programme should include a world referendum for total disarmament and cur slogan, if such be needed, "Disarmament, not War." The absence from the programme of controversial points on domestic or other issues would clarify the position.

While the elections are in progress, efforts should be made to set on foot a house to house referendum throughout the whole country.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the present government was elected on a promise not to increase armaments and its leader Lord Baldwin, admitted, in defence of the violation of his promise, that he could not have obtained the necessary support for his programme otherwise.

A. G. THACKERAY.

34 Eastcombe Avenue, Charlton, S.E.7.

In *Peace News* of October 8, the idea of a world conference was put forward as, so to speak, the next object of the Peace Pledge Union. May I, however, suggest what I feel may be a more immediately vital objective, namely the conversion to intelligent pacifism of our Left wing.

The Labour Party will go into the next general election, unless they are prevented, with a foreign policy making for certain war. Even if they secure only a minority of seats in parliament they will by their policy have destroyed in this country all effective opposition to war. They will be at Chamberlain's disposal.

Can the PPU save the situation? I would suggest an intensive campaign at once aimed entirely at the Left wing.

Socialists are traditionally in sympathy with us and it is clear that even now among the leaders and the rank and file of the Labour Party there is a division of opinion, a realization that war is after all war, and to be avoided. Should we not then make our appeal before it is too late?

The Left wing is not yet immune to reason, not yet quite blinded with righteous indignation and hatred of fascism. Our arguments may for a little while yet, get a hearing.

I would therefore suggest a "special effort." If we cannot convert Labour to pacifism we might at least secure a modification of its foreign policy. The smallest modification would be I feel a tremendous gain to peace.

DENIS GODFREY.

25 Roland Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.7.

DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY

While appreciating the deep sincerity of Captain Mumford's article in your issue of October 15, I cannot easily agree with his views.

Are pacifists "entitled to act illegally" if the government ceases to respect the right of conscientious objection? Captain Mumford admits that they are.

We are all paying taxes for the manufacture of armaments which are being used at this moment in Palestine, and conscientious objectors might well feel compelled to "act illegally" by resisting such taxation.

Put in other words, this country is now at war with certain unfortunate people in Palestine and the government is not respecting the right of conscientious objection.

Therefore I cannot see how any one of us can justifiably dissuade others from taking illegal action here and now. In fact, experience in wartime would seem to indicate that such action is more effective while the British Lion is, in a manner of speaking, snoring rather than when he is rampant.

Just one other point. Captain Mumford

Palestine: The Arab Case

IN his reply to Dr. Maude Royden's article Mr. Lionel Cowan asks, in your issue of October 15, "are the Arabs a nation in arms?" This is answered by the world press.

He alleges that (1) "there are 67,000 who have left Palestine during the present disturbances, due to threats and blackmail."

This statement is positively untrue and we would be obliged if Mr. Cowan could provide us with the names of a dozen Arabs who have left because of these reasons. It is true that many women and children of Arab families have left to escape the horror of military terrorism, but the men have remained to play their part in their country's defence.

2. There is no moderate or extreme Arab, in the sense of moderation or extremity. The Arabs of Palestine are united in one struggle against Zionism and Imperialism. Arabs whom he calls "moderate" belong to quite a different class.

3. The Arabs do not mind being called "bandits, terrorists, murderers, snipers," as long as they are fighting for liberty and freedom. The same terms have been applied to Washington, Garibaldi, Kemal Ataturk, De Valera, and others.

4. It is not surprising that "the Jews have shown admirable restraint and calm" as they have had British blood shed to protect them and British planes and arms to defend them. They themselves would never shed their own blood to secure their "home." They would attempt to buy it with their gold but the Arabs will defend their own country, if necessary with their own blood and to the last man.

5. Regarding immigration, the Arabs are determined to stop it, as it is a direct threat to their existence. Palestine belongs to the inhabitants who have always been Arabs. This is a law of nature, and nature is stronger than Zionism and imperialism.

6. Finally, Jews must realize that they must live with Arabs. A plan has been submitted to the Government as a solution for Palestine. This plan gives them equal political and civil rights with the Palestinian Arabs. Zionists reject it. They want a majority basis, in other words, the Arabs are to be forced into a minority. But it will take fifty years for the Jews to become a majority. Therefore, for Zionist ambition, the country must be plunged into turmoil until they can achieve their aim. Is this logic, reason, or justice?

7. The Arabs do not require foreign agitators or support, either German or Italian, because they have quite enough reasons, in view of the British Balfour Declaration, to incite them to determined action.

GEORGE MANSUR.

The Arab Centre, 72 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

OXFORD GROUP MOVEMENT AND WAR

Your correspondent, Mr. Jones, (*Peace News*, September 17), inquires what is the attitude of the Oxford Group to the question of war.

No individual can answer for the whole variety of opinion embraced by the Oxford Group, but for myself, an association of thirteen years with the Oxford Group has meant a searching of the foundations of my belief, and this searching has led me to pacifism.

R. E. HOPE SIMPSON.

Gable End, Beaminstor, Dorset.

As members of the Oxford Group and of various peace organizations, who have faced the important issue of world peace, we should like to mention the following points, in answer to Mr. A. F. Clarke's letter of October 8:—

1. The Oxford Group aims at bringing the world under God's control through the changed lives of individuals.

2. If we are willing to surrender our lives to God, to listen to him, and to obey his guidance, we can find a peace which is not destroyed by, or dependent upon, circumstances. We experienced this ourselves during the recent crisis.

E. G. WILKINSON, MARY H. PERKINS, K. DRINKALL, A. COOK, MARY MOORE, BERYL M. BRADBURY, E. INVIDE, VIOLET CRAGG.

20 Edgebrook Road, Nether Edge, Sheffield.

MINORITIES

No person whose mind is clear can agree with Mr. Hudson (*Peace News*, October 8) that Attlee's appeal to Chamberlain, after receipt of the invitation to Munich, was "meaningless." He asked that there should be no sacrifice of principle.

The principle involved all along has been one of racial preference. If German speaking people preferred to belong to a German speaking State it was unreasonable and unjust to deny it. They were asserting the same right that the Czechs asserted when they claimed to become an independent State.

Other factors telling against dismemberment of a geographical unit could not alter the fact of the wishes of the people.

This is exactly the principle which, as we see more clearly every day, the four great Powers have sacrificed. To hand over 800,000 Czechs to

(continued from col. 2)

bases his argument on the theory that we have a democratic State. But have we? MAX WALKER.

Green Pastures, Gomshall.

Germany is to repeat the injustice they were supposed to be putting right.

RUTH DODDS.

Home House, Low Fell, Gateshead, 9.

Pacifists in Wartime

I DO not wish to criticize the formation of a Pacifist First Aid Corps, but is there not something about the idea that admits the inevitability of war, which surely is what every pacifist should guard against.

If this suggestion is carried to its logical conclusion, the PPU and other pacifist organisations might well form their own ARP units and trench-digging associations.

MARY N. WILSON

11 Freda Road, Christchurch, Hants.

It is of little avail to discover the defects of ARP. If war comes as close as it did recently, one looks at hundreds of children and realizes that, despite small local criticisms, evacuation was organized as well as vast numbers permitted and was infinitely better than doing nothing for the child.

Trenches were, despite their hideousness, effective to a point and again infinitely better than leaving children open to destruction.

Therefore despite my abhorrence of all such things and despite my knowledge that only a handful in the millions could be even partially safeguarded, I spent two days and nights evacuating children and preparing trench shelters for others. And if this sort of thing is to come to pass, I should do it again.

So it is of little avail to tilt at ARP which is a symptom, a rash on the body, to be cured only by curing the body itself. The doctor simply watches the rash. He knows when it will go and he cannot remove it by any other means than bodily health.

A. STEPHEN NOEL

42 Woodcote Road, Wanstead, E.11.

Nurses and A.R.P.

May I refer to Miss Mawson's complaint that she and another probationer nurse were dismissed from hospital when they refused to wear gas masks? I question whether her description of this as "another challenge to the principle of individual liberty" is quite a fair one.

By choosing our profession, we nurses pledge ourselves to the service of the sick and injured in our hospitals. War was imminent. There was the possibility of air raids on London. The hospitals obviously had to prepare to deal with air raid casualties among its civil population.

In the event of poison gas being used, the nurses could only carry out their duty of relieving suffering when wearing gas masks. The refusal to wear such a mask, should need arise, meant that the nurse could no longer be relied on for the work for which she had been appointed—namely, the relief of suffering.

As far as I can see, the hospital authorities could take no other course than the one which they adopted. Their first duty was to their patients.

RUTH COLLES

40 Ennerdale Road, Richmond.

PRIMATE AND ARMS

You printed (October 8) the Archbishop of Canterbury's equivocal, hypocritical words to the Church Congress on October 4, but not anything from his address at the BBC thanksgiving service on October 2 when he said:

"In this interval of relief from tension the task must be resumed of stopping this insane race of armaments by limiting them by agreement and then gradually reducing them. It is surely required that nations should, as a sign of recovered sanity, determine that once for all the use of bombing aircraft shall cease."

He also pleaded for economic cooperation instead of economic selfishness.

When the Archbishop of Canterbury talks in a plain straightforward way there may just be hope that all "who profess and call themselves Christians" may be brought into the pacifist fold.

ROBERT CLOTWORTHY

70 Talbot Avenue, Oxhey, Herts.

LEVELLING DOWN

Having read E. M. Thompson's *What Now* article (*Peace News*, September 24), I write to place on record the intense disagreement I feel, and to express sorrow too.

The idea of levelling down sounds good, on the surface, but let us try to examine it further.

1. In overcrowded districts where can "middle" class pacifists of however excellent intentions go to live? Surely they would add to the congestion in such districts.

2. Should not the pacifist express his demand in the surroundings, wherever he lives, for all that is best? The idea of having "lived on these unfortunate unemployed" is all out of gear. Perhaps one day we shall see that enforced leisure becomes a joyful state, not a reason for starvation and death.

3. I have lived in a poor neighbourhood but would rather choose the "life and life more abundant."

As a pyramid is supported by its base and not by the point perhaps too, future policies for our beloved land and for other nations, will spring from the source or base instead of being dictated by those nominally placed at the "top."

First, it seems to me, we should propagate the idea of our own pledge before making it appear that the rank and file desire a cut and dried policy.

CHOOSE LIFE

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

Armistice Day Celebrations

We are now able to state that there will definitely be three meetings in Central London on Armistice Day, arranged by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

In addition to meetings in the Central Hall, Westminster, and Kingsway Hall, as reported last week, arrangements have now been made for a meeting in Friends House, Euston Road. Meetings will start at 7.30 p.m., and will be addressed by national speakers.

Tickets for reserved seats at 2s. 6d. and 1s. are obtainable from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. Applications should be accompanied by remittances.

A pacifist celebration in Regent's Park, London, will be organized jointly by the Women's Cooperative Guild and the Peace Pledge Union. It will include peace music with singing; reading of the Guild Peace Pledge; and observation of the Two Minutes Silence.

The celebration will be followed by a procession from Regent's Park to Baker Street station, where paraders will board the train for the Central Hall, Westminster, where a meeting will start at 3 p.m.

In connexion with our report last week of white peace poppies and peace handkerchiefs, available from the Women's Cooperative Guild, 17 Prescott Street, London, E.1, we wish to add that the peace poppies are available at 1d. each, or 1s. 6d. per dozen. No profit is made on the sale of these poppies, which are sold at cost price. The Birmingham branch of the No More War Movement will hold a procession to the Hall of Memory to lay a white poppy wreath.

POINTS for the PLATFORM

The Better Way

"IN this present passionate desire for good will and just peace," wrote Bishop Walter Carey in *The Times* on Friday last, "is it possible that those who wish to deal with Germany by the 'mailed fist' method might consider this?"

Hertzog. — Treated with bitterness: failure. Trusted and understood: success.

De Valera. — Treated with bitterness: failure. Trusted and understood: success.

Hitler. — Treated with mailed fist: failure. Trusted and understood by, e.g., Mr. Lansbury and Chamberlain: all sorts of possibilities.

Territorial Records

ON October 1 there were 186,689 officers and men in the Territorial Army—the highest official strength ever recorded since the Great War. The present authorized establishment is 201,707.

Another record was made in the September recruiting figure for the Territorial Army—2,610. The greater part of the recruiting rush during the crisis is stated not to be reflected in this figure.

Native Health and Education

THE result of an inquiry by Sir Robert Bell into the financial position and further development of Nyasaland was issued by the Stationery Office last week (10s. net).

Discussing the question of further development, the report states that the pressing need is a higher standard of education for the African. A scheme for secondary education for Africans has been under consideration for some time, and is "a matter of urgency if provision is to be made for training Africans to relieve European officers of duties which can be adequately performed by educated natives and also to fill some posts now held by unqualified Europeans, thus releasing funds for the employment of qualified Europeans—for example, in the Department of Agriculture. . . . Secondary education is essential if efficient administration and development are to be achieved at the lowest cost."

Dealing with public health, the report admits that the scope for medical work, both curative and preventive, in a country like Nyasaland, seems boundless; it adds, however, that

since a highly-trained and expensive Public Health Department is impracticable, the effort to improve sanitation and hygiene in the bush should be organized from below through the native authorities.

INTERNATIONAL WEEK-END

An international week-end has been arranged to take place at the Jevington Youth Hostel on November 19 and 20. The hostel is situated on a slope of the Sussex Downs near Eastbourne. Transport by car from London can be arranged, the return fare being about 3s. per head.

There will be talks by various speakers and general discussion on international topics.

On the Sunday morning there will be a short international service with messages from the Oxford groups of the Peace Pledge Union. This will be followed by a ramble over the Downs.

A similar week-end has also been fixed for March 18 and 19 next year.

Further details of both events are obtainable from S. W. Fullerton, 5 Selsdon Road, West Norwood, London, S.W. 27.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

Latest time for copy
—MONDAY.

October

22 (Sat.) MANCHESTER: 11 a.m. Friends' Meeting House, Mount Street; meeting for all members of PPU Teachers' Group in North-Western Area; further details from H. Leslie Kirkley, PPU Office, 41 John Dalton Street. LEEDS: Parliamentary Pacifist Convention and Demonstration, 2.30 p.m. to 5 p.m.; 6 p.m. to 7.15 p.m.; and 8 p.m. to 9.30 p.m.; Oxford Place Chapel (near Town Hall). James H. Hudson (chairman), George Lansbury, Miss Mary Gamble, Mrs. Eleanor Barton, Mrs. Margery South, Rev. C. Jenkinson, Rev. John W. A. Singleton, Rev. P. D. Robins, Ben Greene, A. W. Hodges, and J. A. Aitken.

BRISTOL: 3 p.m. St. Peter's (City) Church; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

GRAVESEND: 3.30 p.m. Cooperative Cafe, New Road; West Kent Regional Conference; PPU.

CROYDON: 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison, Ralph Mansell and S. J. Hart; PPU.

22-23 (Sat.-Sun.) WILMSLOW: 3 p.m. Week-end conference; Clarion Clubhouse, Morley; Canoe Stuart Morris and others; further details from H. Leslie Kirkley, PPU Office, 41 John Dalton Street, Manchester.

23 (Sun.) TONBRIDGE: 3 p.m. Repertory Theatre; Dr. Alex Wood on "Pacifism and the Present Situation"; also Roy Walker; For and PPU.

PECKHAM: 7 p.m. Oliver Goldsmith School, Peckham Road; Joyce Pollard on "Peacemaking in Palestine"; PPU.

24 (Mon.) BRISTOL: 7.45 p.m. Salem Methodist Church, Church Road, St. George; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon and others; For.

BEDFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall; Canon C. E. Raven on "Constructive Peacemaking"; chairman: Rev. H. C. L. Heywood; Bedford Peace Council.

HODDESDON: 8 p.m. Esdale Hall; Canon Stuart Morris on "Peace in our Time"; chairman: Prof. Mottram; PPU.

HERNE HILL: 8 p.m. Baptist Church (corner of Winterbrook Road); Nigel Spottiswoode; PPU.

25 (Tues.) LONDON W.C.2: 6.30 p.m. 9 Hop Gardens, St. Martin's Lane; Rev. Leslie Artington on "Has the Christian any Option?" St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Pacifist Group.

LONDON, E.C.4: 6.45 p.m. Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street; Mr. George Lansbury (Chairman), Lord Ponsonby and Mrs. E. Pethick-Lawrence; City PPU Group.

GILLINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Byron Road Methodist Church Parlour; Byrn G. Speller and Eric Atwood; PPU.

BRISTOL: 7.45; Horfield Baptist Church, Gloucester Road; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon and others; For.

PINNER: 8 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Love Lane; John Barclay; PPU.

LONDON, N.W.1: 8 p.m. Youth House, 250 Camden Road; Nigel Spottiswoode and William H. Corbett; PPU.

GOLDERS GREEN: 8.15 p.m. St. Albans Hall; Capt. Oliver Bell on "Industry and World Peace; chairman, Rev. G. Stephens Spinks; PPU and LNU Youth Group.

26 (Wed.) BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. Harrowdene Road Methodist Hall, Knowle; Rev. C. Paul Gliddon and others; For.

WORTHING: 8 p.m. Mitchell's Arcade Cafe; Nigel Spottiswoode; PPU.

KINGSWAY: 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

PADDINGTON: 8 p.m. Clifford Memorial Hall, Westbourne Park Road; Reginald Sorensen; PPU.

27 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m., 13 Paternoster Row; Mrs. Plowman on "Personal Implications of Pacifism"; City PPU Group.

LONDON, W.1: 1.10 p.m. King's Weigh House, Thomas Street; Dr. Herbert Gray.

LONDON, E.C.4: 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Nigel Spottiswoode; City PPU Group.

HANDSWORTH: 7.30 p.m. Cooperative Rooms, Rookery Road; Film Show: "Shadow of the Mine", "War in China", and "Hell United"; Tickets 6d. & 1s. each; PPU.

SLOUGH: 7.30 p.m. Slough Central Hall; Rev. Henry Carter, Canon Stuart Morris, John Barclay, and Rev. R. Brighton (chairman); PPU.

HIGHAMS PARK: 8 p.m. County High School, Church Hill, E.17; Debate: "Pacifism versus Collective Security"; Prof. Arthur Davis (LNU) and Mr. C. Tifford (PPU).

ABERDEEN: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 98 Crown Street; Mrs. Bainaves on "A Socialist's journey through Czechoslovakia"; PPU.

28 (Fri.) BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. Bull Ring; John Ballinger, Ernest Fletcher, Sydney Conbeer on "Economic Conference not War Preparations"; No More War Movement.

LEICESTER: 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Prebend Street; Rev. Dilwyn Morgan on "Pacifism in the New Testament"; Christian Pacifist Fellowship.

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Palestine: A Zionist View**"Violence Will Only Unite the Arabs Against Us"****NEED FOR COOPERATION INSTEAD**

The following are extracts from an article by Dr. Martin Buber, a leading Zionist philosopher, of Jerusalem, published in the "Jüdische Rundschau," the most important Zionist paper appearing in German. Though written some weeks ago, his words are of particular relevance now.

CONFUSION in Palestine has increased to a terrible extent and manifests itself in actions bound to be unbearable to every Jew conscious of his Judaism and his humanity.

We are certain of one thing: however great the misfortune which is threatening our people from the outside, nothing can destroy it but its own disloyalty to its ideal.

And disloyalty has begun; and with it groups who are powerless as long as loyalty prevails are gaining ground. They are stirring up a darkened atmosphere because only darkness will give them the chance of success. And from the outside all those watch their work with satisfaction whose wish it is that, in this secretly decisive hour, we should compromise our work so that they can point to our failure.

"MISGUIDED ONES"

It is hardly astonishing that the dark powers should be successful, that misguided young people should serve them and that other misguided ones should enthusiastically applaud their deeds of blind violence. The situation has become so terrible that we can understand an ever increasing number of people calling out: "If we cannot defend ourselves against the wolves, we shall have to become wolves ourselves," and forget that we have come here to Palestine in order to regain our whole humanity.

It is, as I said, comprehensible that it should be said so; but is it right, even from their standpoint? It is not right.

What is it our violence worshippers think to obtain by deeds of violence? To frighten the others? The opposite happens. We stir up new general hatred.

It was our part to bring about by our attitude, by our word, by our clear preparedness for reconciliation, a division amongst the Arab population, to encourage the well-meaning and to isolate the terrorists. Our violence worshippers are about to unite the Arabs within and outside the country against us.

Or, did they think to influence Western public opinion? Rather it seems as if this new method, which heretofore we described as inhuman, is going to lose us genuine and valuable sympathies in Europe.

Nothing can be gained by blind violence and everything may be lost. Through violent methods we are losing the last way to peace with the people, with whom, according to our historical destiny, we shall have to live and to reconstruct this country in cooperation.

We are in favour of true defence. If, however, this should not be possible, what then? The man who strives after truth and justice then controls himself.

He has shown the world that he can defend himself; and he now shows it that he knows how to shun injustice, he shows that there is a living truth and a living justice. And if the world cannot see this at that hour—the time surely will come when the world will see it.

"TO SAVE OUR PEOPLE"

There has never been a more tragic time for our people than the present one. This means there has never been a more severe test. At such an hour neither cunning nor violence will save our people, only one thing: to pass this test amidst the catastrophe and to remain loyal.

Disloyalty has begun. It tries to appear as self-assertion. But tear away its mask and reveal it to be disloyalty against Jewish humaneness, against the Jewish task, the Zionist goal, the Zionist method and movement and against the Jewish nation. Recognize it as such and treat it as such. In your own midst the real disaster is threatening you if you do not stop it.

All this I am saying to our own people,

to the Jews, not to others. May the others listen if they like, it is said for Jewish ears. One word, however, I would like to say to the outside world:

We are in sorrow, in great sorrow, not only because of our own wounds, our own dead, but also because of those Arabs who were wounded or killed without even having been fighting against us. The history of mankind begins with fratricide and is full of fratricide; but brother love is stronger than it.

"We," I say. I do not know how many this "we" represents, for how many I dare speak. But I know that all over the country many share my anxiety and that no creed and no programme, but a great feeling and a great certainty unites us. For their sake we shall have to unite, not into a party or into an organization but into a working community.

But Britain Tries More Violence

Faced with the fact that, up to last weekend, over 350 people had been killed and a hundred injured in Palestine in a fortnight, the British authorities are now trying to crush the Arab resistance by still stronger military measures.

Sir Harold MacMichael, the High Commissioner, left London last week on his way back to Palestine after discussions with Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Colonial Secretary.

Meanwhile the Government has still to announce its intentions with regard to the future of the country. A statement issued by the Colonial Office last week declared that "when the Woodhead Commission's Report has been received, and the Government has had time to give it careful study, a further statement will be made."

London Play to Help Czechs

Because he is confident that the play *Glorious Morning* has something to give "of vital importance to all those who during the recent days of stress have realized that fundamental truths must prevail in a distressed world for universal security and happiness," J. P. Mitchellhill, who retired from the ownership of the Duchess Theatre and from the theatrical business when the play was transferred from the Duchess to the Whitehall Theatre, has offered financial support for the play.

Mr. Mitchellhill wants as many people as possible to see the play which deals with the lives of a people who have lost their freedom of thought in a dictator-ridden country where religion is abolished.

The prices have, therefore, been cut by half and now range from 1s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.

All profits will be devoted to the relief of the Czechs, and any losses which the venture might entail will be born by Mr. Mitchellhill himself.

PACIFIST PARTY'S ACTIVITY

A membership of 150 is reported by the General Secretary of the Christian Pacifist Party, which will hold its annual conference in Birmingham on November 12.

Among activities shown in the annual report, covering the period from November, 1937, to last August is the fact that about 100 pacifist groups have been addressed by speakers from the party. Over 1,000 copies have also been sold of two 1d. pamphlets produced by the party, *Is a Pacifist Political Party Necessary?* and *Manifesto and Political Programme*.

A UNITED STATES OF MIDDLE EUROPE**M.P.'s Plan to Remove Causes of Another Crisis**

VOICING the universal conviction which has arisen from the recent international crisis that such a crisis must never occur again, a number of members of the Parliamentary Land Values Group have circulated a memorandum among their fellow MPs urging that immediate steps be taken to review and adjust the economic conditions which, ever since the signing of the Versailles Treaty, have formed a constant source of war danger in Central Europe.

The memorandum indicates how the creation, at Versailles, of a profusion of small States, each with its tariff barriers and customs line, leading to friction in international trade, did little but breed shallow nationalism and aggressiveness. These small independent States, none of which is strong enough to defend itself against the larger, united and more efficient military States which threaten it with subjugation, inevitably seek alliances with larger Powers.

These alliances, as the crisis of the past fortnight has shown, can split the whole of Europe into opposing camps and, as the experience of 1914 revealed, can plunge the whole world into the abyss of war.

END ECONOMIC BARRIERS

There is, the memorandum says, no other solution to this problem than the consolidation of all those States East of Germany and West of Russia into a United States of Middle Europe wherein each would maintain its own national character whilst the economic barriers, which at present foster competition and impede progress, would be removed.

Such a confederation, adopting a constitution along the lines of that of the United States of America, could, by developing the natural wealth within its confines, raise the status of the entire population—a powerful antidote to the poison of racial prejudices.

That peoples as various as Czechs, Poles, Rumanians, Greeks, and Germans can live in harmony together is demonstrated by their presence in the United States of America. There, united by federation and consolidated in a great free trade block, they settle down in peace. Restored to Europe and placed again in countries dominated by racial hatreds, divided by economic interests and walled round by tariff barriers, they inevitably relapse into opposing military groups.

The memorandum reminds its readers that Masaryk, founder-president of Czechoslovakia, himself hoped that a mid-European federation would one day be realized.

WAR'S CAUSES REMAIN

Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, it continues, have agreed upon a compromise which has prevented immediate war. Time has been gained. The future of world peace depends upon the use that is made of that time.

The moving forward of the German frontier to include the Sudeten territories has but transferred the customs barrier from one place to another to accommodate Germany.

It has done nothing to establish those economic foundations upon which, alone, can lasting peace be based. The root causes of yet another international conflagration still remain.

"The shock of the threatened rupture of Europe," concludes the memorandum, "calls

for immediate action on the part of statesmen to set aside the old narrow conceptions of nationalism. They must take up the task which the framers of the Covenant avoided and create the economic foundation upon which a real league of civilized nations can live their full lives on free and equal terms with the rest of the world."

The signatories of the memorandum are Mr. George Lansbury, Mr. Andrew MacLaren, and Mr. R. R. Stokes.

News of Note**ITALIAN ANTI-FASCIST "PLOT"**

A PLOT against the fascist régime was given, in an official Rome announcement on Sunday, as the reason for the arrest of an unspecified number of people, including some Jews.

NEW ZEALAND ELECTIONS

In a straight fight with the National Party, New Zealand's Labour Government was returned at the general election on Saturday, with a net loss of only one seat.

MORE AMERICAN REARMAMENT

At a press conference on Friday last President Roosevelt stated that considerations of national defence had forced reconsideration of the next American Budget as a whole.

DR. NEGRIN ON MEDIATION

Dr. Negrin, Spanish Premier, declared last Friday that, "if it is proposed to mediate between ourselves and the aggressor States, it is just what we have been asking for in accordance with our rights. But if what is proposed is mediation between the rebels and ourselves, then that is not mediation."

WEST INDIES COMMISSION LEAVES

Members of the Royal Commission which is to investigate social and economic conditions in the West Indies left Liverpool last Friday. They expect to be away for about six months, and to travel altogether some 12,000 miles.

This conscription [that of the North in the American Civil War] is very bad. Was it absolutely necessary? My feeling is that a man should die rather than be made a soldier against his will. One's country has no right to demand everything. There is much that is higher and better and greater than one's country. One is patriotic only because one is too small and too weak to be cosmopolitan. If a country cannot get along without a military conscription, it had better give up—and let its children seek other ties.

—Letter to Kate Field, August 23, 1862, quoted in Sadlier's Trollope.

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PEACE NEWS

October 22, 1938

Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

Government has in mind, will need to be most carefully examined by Parliament. They will need to be examined particularly in their relation to civil liberties for there is danger that in this sudden call to make more secure the defence of democracy we may find ourselves faced with demands for the sacrifice of those very virtues of freedom and tolerance which are the heart of democracy.

But how is the Labour Party going to make any impression upon the Government when one of its chief whips is demanding national service which will "give us the men we want to put them where we want them"?

Both the Liberal Party and the Labour Party are far too deeply compromised in their pursuit of "collective security" to make it possible for them to take up this issue on a basis of first principles.

With the Conservative Party crying out for "national service," there is in fact no political party which can take up the cause of British democracy. The small handful of pacifist and ILP members of the House of Commons will be numerically overwhelmed.

The position is appalling in its seriousness. Our constitutional rights will be destroyed by the very institution which embodies those rights. Democracy will be killed by the party system through which democracy has tried to express itself.

Only one alternative is left. We have to look outside Parliament for the safeguarding of our liberties. Mass public opinion is our only hope.

Can we in the short time available arouse public opinion to the immense dangers which threaten? That is a question which only the PPU can answer. There is no other body of opinion in the country which can take up this historic challenge as a first principle.

CONTROL OF THE PRESS

THE noisy campaign for "national service" which is now raging again raises the question of by whom and in what manner is the press controlled in this country?

This sudden unanimity for a line of policy is clearly no accident, nor does it arise out of circumstances. It can only be explained by the existence of some central control. Where does this control lie, and who exercises it?

We claim to have in this country a "free press." It is even described as the "Fourth Estate" in our democratic institutions. How far and to what extent are the conditions of this "Fourth Estate" compatible with our conceptions of democracy?

Apart from the fact that it is secretly and privately controlled, are the conditions in any way different to those ruling in dictatorship countries? We are, of course, allowed to publish papers provided that their influence on public opinion is as limited as that of the Hyde Park orator.

This campaign for national service is not the first occasion in which the almost unanimous press has moulded public opinion. It did this during the last Labour Government when it forced that government to introduce the Anomalies Act in the workings of the unemployment insurance scheme.

It did this again in the financial crisis of 1931 (manipulated and exaggerated as Mr. Churchill described it) and drove the government from office. It did it in the campaign for the taxation of the cooperative societies. It is now doing it in the drive for "national service."

This strange and sinister control is apparent not only in the policy campaigns it undertakes but in the actual suppression of news. Again and again it happens that news and information is made available to the foreign reader which is withheld from the British public.

We cannot afford to forget the words of Lord Baldwin in 1931. He then said:—

The papers are engines of propaganda for the constantly changing policies, desires, personal wishes likes and dislikes of two men. . . Their methods are direct falsehood, misrepresentation, half truths, the alteration of speeches' meanings by publishing a sentence apart from its context, suppression and editorial criticism of speeches which are not reported. . . . What the proprietorship of these papers are aiming at is power without responsibility, the prerogative of the harlot through the ages.

Faced as we are in this "national service" campaign with a life and death struggle for our democratic rights, some understanding of the control of public opinion by the press has become essential.

That control goes beyond just the two proprietors Lord Baldwin had in mind; it covers the whole system of the so-called

"free press." This system has shown itself not only a menace to our constitutional traditions but a menace to our understanding of foreign nations as well.

GERMANY AND BRITISH REARMAMENT

THE tender shoots of peace by negotiation which showed themselves in the Munich discussions are in danger of destruction in the frosty air created by Britain's hectic rearmament drive.

Germany is thoroughly alarmed as to the sincerity of our intentions. She has made it clear that if this drive continues she will have to take steps to increase her arms in similar proportions.

What with America, France, and England entering upon prodigious armament expansion, it looks as if the so-called democracies are now the potential aggressors against the peace of the world.

The situation is particularly tragic as there are indications that Hitler is prepared to consider negotiations with Britain, France, and Italy for limitation of arms especially in the use of bombing aircraft.

Nothing definite and official has yet been announced but it is clear that since Czechoslovakia has ceased to be a source of menace to German security, Germany's attitude to general armaments has altered sufficiently to make such proposals feasible.

The terms of such an agreement between the four Powers will have to be watched to see that it is not aimed at Russian security; but the very possibility that such talks can now take place ought to be welcomed with a sincerity which their enormous importance deserves.

But, if this country persists in its present wild drive for more and bigger armaments, this golden opportunity may be lost.

SPAIN

ALL recent hopes of bringing to an end the civil war in Spain have now faded away. Both the Government and Franco have emphatically rejected any form of mediation from outside. The latter has made it clear that in his opinion only a complete victory in the field can be contemplated as an end to the struggle.

Dr. Negrin, on behalf of the Government, has, on the other hand, indicated that, provided foreign support for Franco has been withdrawn, he would be prepared for a peace of conciliation and collaboration for the reconstruction of Spain.

In the meantime the foreign volunteers in the Government armies are now being disbanded under League supervision and are on their way home. From Franco's side, Italy has withdrawn 10,000 of her men and they too are on their way back to Italy.

Whereas there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of the action of the Government in disbanding the foreign volunteers, the same assurance is not possible in the case of the Italian withdrawal.

It appears to be a withdrawal of troops which in any case were due for withdrawal and the hope is that the British Government will accept this as a fulfilment of a condition which will make the ratification of the Anglo-Italian Agreement possible.

There is no evidence that Italy is withdrawing any part of her air force nor is she apparently refraining from constantly replenishing this force. Of all forms of intervention, the Italian air force is the most important.

IRELAND

PRESIDENT DE VALERA has not forgotten the Irish saying that England's difficulties are Ireland's opportunities. He sees England at present deeply concerned with the question of defence and in his *Evening Standard* interview he made it known that as long as Ireland is divided by the border between north and south no help can be expected from Eire, especially in time of war. "I state categorically that no Irish leader will ever be able to get the Irish people to cooperate with Great Britain while partition remains."

President De Valera puts up a proposal for a United Ireland which cannot be lightly rejected. He proposes that the six northern counties shall retain their present Parliament with its present prerogatives intact, but that those powers which are at present reserved to the Westminster

THREAT TO FREEDOM

Growth of the Campaign for "National Service"

THE DEVELOPMENT of a powerful campaign for "national service," and the growing danger of censorship of the means of influencing public opinion, are shown in the following summary of events and speeches of the past few days. We also, show, however, that already voices are being raised against these things.

"NATIONAL SERVICE"

Press Campaign

ALTHOUGH most newspapers seem to accept the inevitability of "national service," the foremost of its newspaper advocates is still *The Times*.

In a leading article on Tuesday it declared that "the readiness of British citizens to serve their country has taken in its stride the full meaning of organization for service." There was, however, not yet involved "at present the same all-pervading and all-absorbing control of industry and of personal liberty which prevailed during 1917 and 1918."

Influential Backing

Industrialists are among the foremost individual spokesmen for "national service." Here are two instances:

"It is imperative that a national register shall be put into force immediately, and all men and women detailed for their particular work in case of national emergency."—Lord Austin on Monday.

"I do not believe in voluntary service in times of national emergency, nor do I believe that one volunteer is worth three conscripts. Only by compulsory national service can we demonstrate to the world our determination to resist that which is wrong, and fight if necessary for that which is right."—Sir William Firth on Monday.

Two more voices—from the business world:

The Manchester Chamber of Commerce last week passed a resolution urging "national service," and the chairman of the Baltic Mercantile and Shipping Exchange told the President of the Board of Trade that "we are perfectly prepared on this Baltic Exchange to see our services conscripted, and we speak probably for the most important commercial exchange in the world."

A voice from the church was provided by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who told his diocesan conference on Monday:

"In the secular sphere we must look to the Government to lead the people to gird up its loins in the defence of our security, and for the enlisting of all the people in some form of national service."

A headmaster wrote, in a letter to *The Times* last week, that secondary schoolboys would be "grateful" for "the opportunity

(continued from col. 2.)

Parliament shall be transferred to an all-Ireland Parliament elected on a basis of proportional representation to allow for full minority representation.

He asks for one thing only, and that is, for fair play for the nationalist minority in the six-county area. As to remaining in the British Commonwealth, the President said it was his belief that a United Ireland would, in its own interests and to meet the sentiments of some of the people, continue the British association.

The Irish problem will not be settled until this partition question is settled. De Valera has made it clear that he will devote the rest of his life to achieving a United Ireland. The minority problem alone makes it impossible to ignore his demands.

There is every indication that from now on we shall hear a great deal more of this partition question and British statesmanship would be well advised to consider his proposals before the issues become embittered.

of beginning their military training while they are still at school."

Cabinet Views

In Sheffield last week Sir John Simon observed that "compulsion is not the same thing as organization." "How much more valuable," he added, "these voluntary offers of help would be if in each case the choice and allotment of essential national work had been made beforehand."

Lord Winterton last week advocated publication in the press of names of those "unwilling to make sacrifices for the country's defence," in order to bring public opinion to bear on them.

Nothing authoritative is known of the Government's intentions, but *The Times* declared on Monday that

"it is assumed that a register of some kind, allotting to men and women the work each would be able to do in the event of national emergency, will be one of the proposals before the Cabinet."

According to *Reynolds News* on Sunday, Sir Horace Wilson, Chief Industrial Adviser to the Government, is already engaged on

Reconstruction of the Air Ministry and the Ministry of Defence; setting up a national register; overhaul of the Civil Service; preparation of plans to meet an impending trade slump; and creation of an all-embracing and rigid press censorship.

Meanwhile a new Territorial Army Reserve, consisting of anti-aircraft units for factories, to be recruited from their employees, will expose more work-people to the danger of pressure from employers.

CENSORSHIP

Films

A "March of Time" film, due for general release last week, was banned by the censor because (according to A. J. Cummings in the *News Chronicle*) it might be "dangerous." A shortened version was later released.

Herbert Morrison last week called upon the film industry to "let us have the facts about this undoubted unofficial political censorship" of news reels.

Press

A. J. Cummings warned a meeting of journalists last week:

"Unless the leaders of the British press are quick enough in the uptake, I very much fear that the freedom which the press still retains . . . may be snatched away without a 'By your leave'."

OPPOSITION

Mr. Lansbury (reported on page 9) was not the only public figure to show the danger of copying the fascist States. Captain Liddell Hart, Military Correspondent of *The Times*, pointed out to a London youth peace conference on Saturday

the spiritual folly of going totalitarian in an effort to stand against totalitarianism. He suggested that youth should cooperate with anything that fostered freedom and should refuse anything that fettered it.

Meanwhile a national campaign against the threat to the press is being carried on by the National Union of Journalists.

Next Friday and Saturday, a national conference on "War preparation and Democratic Liberties" will be held in University College, Gower Street, London, W.C.1, by the National Peace Council and the National Council for Civil Liberties. (See "Coming Shortly," page 14).

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